THE

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

OF THE TYPES OF THE

FIRST PERSON PLURAL IMPERATIVE

IN GERMAN.

BY

WILLIAM KURRELMEYER.

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INTRODUCTION.

The scope of this study is to trace the development of the various locutions that have expressed the first person plural imperative in the German language. Low German and Dutch have also been considered, because of the relationship of the literatures during the late Middle High German period. Gothic has been briefly referred to.

The subject has not heretofore been treated in a detailed way by any of the German grammarians. Grimm, Deutsche Gramm. IV. 88, devotes a page to the discussion of the type *lasst uns,* which, according to him, was introduced into German by Luther. This statement however, is erroneous, as the form occurs more than 150 years earlier in High German, and is quite common during the fifteenth century. A single instance of the type *sollen* is also mentioned by him incidentally, as well as the type *wollen,* which is cited from Alemannic.

Erdmann, Deutsche Syntax, § 4, makes the statement that in M. H. G. the usual type is *gen,* whereas the type *gen wir* according to him is exceptional. This statement also will be found to be incorrect.

Paul, M. H. D. Gram., 4. Aufl., §§ 196. 2, 283, briefly mentions the types *gen* and *gen wir.*

Weinhold, Alem. Gram., §§ 349, 369, mentions the type *gen* as being distinctively Alemannic, which statement is correct.

This is about the sum total of what has been written on this subject.

The material on which the present study is based was to a large degree gathered from unedited biblical Mss., which

I consulted during the summer of 1898 in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. I take pleasure in acknowledging the uniformly kind and courteous treatment accorded to me by the various librarians: I am under special obligations to Direktor von Laubmann, Dr. Riezler and Dr. Keinz in Munich; Dr. Wille in Heidelberg; Dr. Jacobs in Wernigerode; P. Milo Nentwich in Tepl. Dr. Georg Grupp in Maihingen and Dr. Göldlin von Tiefenau in Vienna have also copied and collated certain Mss. in connection with a related investigation of Bible translations.

Biblical texts have been found particularly suited for the present investigation, because every instance can be verified by reference to the Vulgate. Instances are uniformly cited by chapter and verse, and those not quoted may be found by reference to the appended list of places where the first person plural imperative occurs in the Vulgate. A similar list is given for the Regula Benedicti, and all references are to chapter and line of Woelfflin's edition.

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In the various periods and dialects eight types of the first person plural imperative occur:

1. *gen;* 2. *gen wir;* 3. *wir gen;* 4. *wita kiasan;* 5. *wir sollen gen;* 6. *wir wollen gen;* 7. *lasst uns gen;* 8. *wi moeten verbliden.*

The various dialects will first be taken up in detail, and afterwards a brief summary of the scope of each type will be given. In an excursus at the end the importance and value of the first person plural imperative as a criterion for the determination of date and original dialect will be demonstrated by application to the pre-Lutheran bibles.

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Before proceeding to the discussion of the German dialects, a brief summary of the Gothic language will be given, as being the oldest Germanic dialect. In Gothic the first person plural imperative of the Greek is in 54% of the instances rendered by the first person plural imperative, as *gaggam,* Joh. 11, 7;

afslaham, Luc. 20, 14; *usvairpam,* Rom. 13, 12; *matjam, drigkam,* 1 Cor. 15, 32. In the rest of the cases the optative occurs, as, þairhgaggaima, Luc. 2, 15; *gavaurkjaima,* Luc. 9, 33; *gaggaima,* Rom. 13, 13; *vahsjaima,* Ephes. 4, 15.

The only oistinction in the use of the two forms seems to be that with the negative *ni* only the optative is used: Rom. 14, 13; Gal. 5, 26; 6, 9; 1. Thess. 5, 6.

The optative occurs only in the Epistles and in the first ten chapters of Luke, which, as is well known, also show other dialectic peculiarities. In the above portions there are fifteen optatives to eleven imperatives. Most of the above is given by Bernhardt, Zs. d. phil. 8, 6, who cites all the passages where the various forms occur. He has omitted Luc. 8, 22, *galeiþam;* Marc. 9, 5, *gavaurkjam;* Ephes. 4, 15, *vahsjaima.*

I. THE VARIOUS DIALECTS TREATED CHRONOLOGICALLY.

1 a. **Middle German.**

[Except texts from the Middle and Lower Rhine, cf. p. 20 seqq.]

Isidor (ed. Hench, Q. u. F. 72), Rhinefrankish, of the eighth or ninth century, has ten instances of the type *gen,* and one of *gen wir:* p. 5, l. 9 *archundemes;* 8, 14; 17, 16 *duoemes;* 15, 1 *suohhemes;* 23, 1; 31, 19 *chichundemes;* 23, 3 *araughemes;* 26, 8 *suohhemes auur uuir;* 31, 15 *folghemes;* 33, 13 *lobemes;* 33, 14 *singhemes.*

Tatian (ed. Sievers, 2. Aufl.), East Frankish, of the ninth century, has thirteen instances of the type *gen,* and one of *gen wir:* 6, 4 *faramês inti gisehemês;* 91, 2 *ezzemês inti goumûmês;* 135, 8 *gêmês wir.* Further instances occur: 97, 5; 124, 3; 135, 4, 7; 166, 4; 182, 8; 203, 3, 5.

Otfrid (ed. Erdmann, Halle, 1882), South Rhinefrankish, of the ninth century, has thirty-four instances of the type *gen,* four of *gen wir,* and one of *wir gen:* I. 6, 15 *singemes;* 7, 25 *fergomes;* 13, 3 *ilemes;* 18, 33 *farames;* III. 23,57 *farames*

wir; III. 26, 3 and V. 23, 71 *duemes wir;* IV. 5, 49 *simes wir;* V. 2, 7 *wir duemes thaz.* Further instances of *gen:* I. 28, 1; II. 3, 55, 63; III. 7, 7, 9; 23, 27, 28, 55, 58, 60; 26, 4, 5, 13, 25, 61; IV. 9, 34; 28, 11; 37, 25, 29, 31; V. 12, 77, 99; 23, 75, 76, 99; Hartm. 115, 137, 138, 139.

There are also some instances which might be taken as the type *sollen,* but they are doubtful: Lud. 30 *thes sculun wir gote thankon;* III. 23, 44 *wir sculun nan irweken;* 26, 11 *wir sculun unsih samanon.* Other instances occur I. 12, 29; 24, 13; II. 5, 1, 3; III. 7, 65; 23, 44; 26, 19; IV. 37, 3, 7; V. 2, 1, 3; 12, 15.

There is no material for the tenth century. In Williram (ed. Seemüller Q. u. F. 28), East Frankish, of the eleventh century, we see the transition from the type *gen* to the type *gen wir.* In the texts of the eighth and ninth centuries the latter type was comparatively rare, but by the eleventh century it had supplanted the type *gen.* In Williram there is still a trace of the earlier type. When several parallel verbs closely follow each other in a sentence, the pronoun *wir* is expressed only with the first. This was apparently considered sufficient to indicate the nature of the form. The same usage is found in Bavarian texts of the transition period. 126 *gê wir an den akker! wesen alle wîla in den dorfon! stên frûo ûf . . . . . tûon des wara.* (= Cant. 7, 11.) 141 *wirche wir, wioge wir* (= Cant. 8, 9.)

The Leiden Ms. (A.) in a North Rhinefrankish dialect, has in the first instance *wese wir, ste wir, do wir,* thus supplying the pronoun in all cases. This is an illustration of the earlier tendency of the more northerly dialects to use the type *gen wir* instead of *gen.* In the Upper German dialects, as will be seen later, the type *gen wir* does not occur at all during the Old High German period.

In Zs. d. A. 8, 267 there are Middle German Gospels probably of the twelfth century. Two instances of *gen wir* occur: *den lazen wir gesunt gan; cebreche wir daz godes hus.*

In the Trier Psalms, of the thirteenth century (cf. Windberg Psalter p. 29), there are ten instances of *gen wir,*

and one of the type *sollen:* Ps. 73, 9 *ruwen dun wir;* 82, 5 *uirlisen wir si,* 13 *besizzen wir;* 117, 24 *frowen unde menden solen wir in ime.*

In the «Hohenfurter Benedictiner Regel», Zs. d. A. 16, of the thirteenth century, there are eleven instances of the type *gen wir,* and five of *sollen:* Prol. 18 *stân wir ûf,* 21 *hôre wir,* 43 . . *sule wir vare,* 47 *vrêge wir;* cap. 6, 1 *wir sulin tûn;* 7, 53 *sô sul wir geloubin;* 49, 9 . . . *sul wir ettewaz zû irbîtin.*

Vol. 1. of Schönbach's Predigten (Graz 1886), of the fourteenth century, contains in addition the type *wir gen,* p. 5, 5: *mittamus lignum, . . . daz ist, wir senten das holz.* = Jer. 11, 19. Also, p. 16, 18: *Nu, wi lazen dise rede beliben und grifen wider an die erste.* Instances of other types are, p. 87, 28, *abjiciamus . . . induamur . . . ambulemus . . . werfen wir von uns . . . und cleiden an uns . . . und gen erhafte* = Rom. 13, 12. These last instances are not to be considered as belonging to the type *gen,* but to the type *gen wir.* The pronoun is omitted because the verbs are in a series, connected by *und.* This usage continues in all the dialects, long after the disappearance of the type *gen,* and is a development of the transitional type found in Williram. P. 100, 11, *mache wir einen turm . . . . und bestriche wir . . . und mache wir* = Gen. 11, 3. P. 100, 19, *stige wir . . . und warten . . . Nu ge wir da und schenden sie* = Gen. 11, 7.

P. 158, 8: *Psallamus, wir suln . . . loben und suln ime singen.* 162, 40—163, 4: *suscipiamus . . . die sule wir enphan.* 167, 24, *eamus et excitemus, wir suln gen und soln in wecken.* 189, 1, *abjiciamus etc., wir suln von uns werfen . . . .* und *suln an uns tun . . .* (cf. 87, 28.) 194, 2, *Haec est dies quam fecit dominus* (= Ps. 117, 24, *exsultemus) . . . . diz ist der tach . . . . darumme sule wir uns hûte al gemeine vrowen.* 291, 20, *preveniamus . . . so sul wir vorkomen.*

These are all the instances that can be tested by reference to a parallel Latin text. There are however numerous other instances, which can not be referred to any Latin text, but which are reasonably certain as imperatives. Opinions may

differ in individual cases as to their interpretation, but the ratio will not be materially changed thereby. *Sollen* occurs: 57, 1, 8, 10; 83, 26; 89, 5; 92, 19 (2); 93, 6 (2), 8, 9, 10 (2); 95, 28, 29, 30; 97, 1; 98, 42; 99, 1; 132, 28; 154, 29, 30, 31; 183, 25; 208, 15, 20, 24, 33; 209, 5, 6, 18, 19,; 272, 7; 279, 18; 281, 20; 284, 25; 354, 29; 357, 40, 42.

Gen wir occurs: 84, 3; 101, 23, 24; 112, 3; 153, 3: 154, 25; 156, 32; 157, 4; 193, 5; 207, 27; 213, 29; 215, 1, 2; 229, 18; 257, 12; 258, 16; 261, 22; 263, 20; 273, 29; 280, 4; 291, 6; 301, 10; 313, 31; 349, 35; 356, 17; 359, 26; 372, 41. Total, 50 *sollen,* 37 *gen wir,* 2 *wir gen.*

Comparing the instances 87, 28 and 189, 1, we note that the same biblical passage, Rom. 13, 12, is in the former place rendered by the type *gen wir,* in the latter, by the type *sollen.* A similar variation can be seen in several portions of the above collection, and is doubtless due to a difference in origin, as the same author would have rendered these passages uniformly. This question will be further investigated.

In Leyser's Predigten (Quedlinburg 1839), of the fourteenth century, from Upper Saxony, there are 15 *sollen,* 8 *gen wir,* and 2 *wir gen.* The following are the passages which have the Latin text: p. 38, 39 *gaudeamus, wir vrowen uns alle;* 39, 20 to 40, 15 *ecce venit rex, occurramus obviam . . . Das sprichit, der künik cumet, wir loufen zu gegene.*

In Brun v. Sconebeck (Bibl. Stuttg., vol. 198), there are two instances of *gen wir* and one of *wir gen* with the Latin. The text is of the latter part of the thirteenth century, the Ms. of the fourteenth: 1. 4340 *accedamus . . . . ge wir;* 1. 6822 *faciamus, wir machen;* 1. 11669 *conpingamus, mache wir.*

Germ. 11,410 („Heil. Eustachius"), contains the following instances: *Er sprach : ˈwir lassen ess bestan. wir sullen mit yeme ganˈ.* The text is of the fourteenth century; the above instances are reasonably certain, although there is no Latin.

Zs. d. A. 15, 382 (Meister Eckhardt), of the fourteenth century, has: *mache wir . . . . den menschin.*

In the Trebnitz Psalter (ed. Pietsch, Breslau 1881), of the fourteenth century, there are 5 *gen wir*, 2 *wir gen*, 3 *sollen:* Ps. 33, 4 *wir sullen irhohen;* 117, 24 *vro sulle wir sin;* Exod. 15, 1 *wir sullen singen;* Ps. 94, 1 *wir singen gote unsim heiler;* 94, 2 *wir vorvahin daz antlicz sin.*

Cod. pal. vindob. 2756, a Middle German Psalter of the fourteenth century, contains 7 *gen wir* and 4 *wir gen:* Ps. 73, 8 *wy tun ore heilige ruwen;* 94, 2 *wi bekumeren syn antlizce;* 117, 24 *wyr vrowen uns und werden gevrowet;* 117, 1 *wir bichten gote (= confitemini).*

St. Florian Ms. III. 206, a Middle German Psalter of the fourteenth century, has 10 *gen wir* and 1 *wir gen:* Ps. 33, 4 *wir hoen sinen nam in das selbe.* Here the other related Mss. have *hoen wir.*

Breslau Ms. D. 26, a Middle German Psalter of the year 1340, has twelve instances of the type *gen wir.*

The „Evangelienbuch" of Matthias v. Beheim (ed. R. Bechstein), of the year 1343, has 18 *gen wir*, 3 *wir gen:* Matth. 17, 4 *wir machen hî drî gezcelt;* Marc. 6, 37 *wir gên und koufin;* 15, 36 *wir sehin ob Helias kûme.*

Leipzig Univ. Ms. 23, a Middle German Psalter of the year 1356, contains 7 *gen wir* and 5 *wir gen:* Ps. 2, 3 *wir zubrechin . . . . und werfin von uns;* 73, 8 *wir vorteylin alle gotis vyir tage;* 82, 5 *komit her wir zcufurin ze von den lutin.* This Ms. belongs to the nineteenth group of Psalm Mss. of Walther, and other early Middle German Mss. of this group, such as Dresden M. 287, of the year 1378; Leipzig, Stadt-Bibliothek II. 61, of the year 1386, contain additional instances of *wir gen* in other passages, such as Ps. 94, 1, 2, 6.

Göttingen Ms. theol. 221, «Perikopen aus Corvey», of the year 1367, contains 7 *gen wir* and 1 *wir gen:* Marc. 9, 4 *wir machin hi dri gezcelt.*

Berlin Ms. germ. fol. 494, a Middle German Psalter of the year 1386, contains 8 *gen wir* and 2 *wir gen:* Ps. 82, 13 *wir besiczen uns die heilikeit gotes;* 94, 2 *wir v'kumen sein antlicz mit lobe.*

In Zs. d. A. 9, 264, Middle German Gospels of the end of the fourteenth century, are found 4 *gen wir* and 1 *wir gen:* Marc. 6, 37 *wir ghen und koufen;* Marc. 1, 38, Luc. 2, 15 *ghen wir.*

Wolfenbüttel Ms. Extrav. 2, 4⁰, an interlinear Psalter of the fourteenth century, has 9 *gen wir,* 1 *wir gen,* 2 *gen.* The latter instances are no doubt due to the interlinear character of the translation: no subject being expressed in the Latin text, the translator neglected to supply it in the German. Ps. 33, 4 *wir erheben namen sinen.*

Cod. pal. vindob. 2813, a Middle German Psalter of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, has 10 *gen wir* and 2 *sollen:* Ps. 2, 3 *wir sullen czu reyssin ire bant und wir sullin werffin von uns ir ioch;* 73, 8 *heise wir rüen alle heylege tage.*

Göttingen Ms. theol. 214, a Middle German Psalter, is no. 2 of Walther's eighteenth group of Psalm Mss., but the text is entirely different from that of no. 1. Ps. 94 occurs twice, in different versions. At first, *wir gen* and *gen wir* occur, towards the end, *sollen.* Total, 5 *gen wir,* 1 *wir gen,* 10 *sollen:* Ps. 73, 8 *wir machen rügen alle hochzide godis;* 94, 1 *komet und lobin wir got und singen gode unsirm heile. Wir sullen ere sin anticze in der bichte und mit lobe singen wir ieme;* 94, 1 *koment wir sollen uns frauwen in unsirm herren und sollen jubelieren gode unsirm heile. wir sollen für komen sin antlicze in der bichten und süllen eme jubelieren in den psalme.*

Berlin Ms. germ. 503, 4⁰, an «Evangelienharmonie» of the fifteenth century, contains 6 *gen wir,* 2 *wir gen,* 1 *sollen:* Joh. 11, 16 *mer wir gen dar zu eme;* 19, 24 *wir in sollin disin rok nyt zů risin mer wir werfin daz loz;* Luc. 2, 15 *sprachin zů ein andir gen wir zů Bethlehem.*

In Breslau Ms. I. fol. 85, pp. 254—316, «Perikopen» of the fifteenth century, there are 6 *gen wir:* Luc. 2, 15 *do rettin dy hirtin wedirnander sprechinde ge wir bas kein bethlehem und sehe wir das wort.*

Cod. pal. vindob. 2684, a Psalter of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, contains 5 *gen wir* and 5 *wir gen.* The Ms.

shows Middle German and Bavarian characteristics. *Wir gen*
occurs: Ps. 73, 8 *wier haizen rasten;* 82, 13 *wir besitzen mit
erbe;* 94, 2 *wir begrifen sin antlucze;* 117, 24 *wir freun uns
und werden an im gefreut;* Exod. 15, 1 *wir singen dem
herren.*

Ms. E 86 at Melk, containing the four gospels, is said
to be of the fourteenth or fifteenth century.[*]) There are 22
gen wir and 1 *wollen:* Matth. 26, 46 *ge wir uon hinnen;*
27, 49 *wir wellen besehn;* Marc. 1, 38; 14, 42, Joh. 11, 7,
11, 16; 14, 31, *ge wir.*

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All the works considered up to this point antedate the
fifteenth century, except one or two which are generally ascribed
to that century. Their texts at any rate belong to the prece-
ding century. Reviewing these works, we find that the type
gen wir occurs in the earliest monuments, Isidor, Tatian, Otfrid,
though secondary in these texts to the type *gen.* With Williram
the type *gen wir* has become prominent, especially in the
North Rhinefrankish Leyden Ms., which does not contain the
transitional type of the other Mss. Subsequently, the type
gen does not appear. In the thirteenth century the type *sollen*
makes its appearance, and continues through the fifteenth
century. In the beginning of the fourteenth century the type
wir gen appears, which is found also in Otfrid, Heliand and
a Low German gloss. The material from the twelfth and
thirteenth centuries not being very abundant, it is quite prob-
able that the type was current at this time, even though no
monuments have come down to us. This type occurs especially
in texts which border on the Low German. The type *sollen*
is least frequent, the type *gen wir* most frequent during this
period. It is probable that the type *sollen* was confined mostly
to the Frankish, while the other Middle German dialects had

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[*]) When I was in Melk for the purpose of examining the Ms., it
had been loaned out. Subsequently Dr. R. Schachinger, S t i f t s b i b l i o -
t h e k a r in Melk, most kindly sent me a copy of the passages con-
taining the 1. pl. imp.

instead the type *wir gen*. The type *gen wir* occurs in all. The
totals, from the Trier Psalter on, are: 165 *gen wir*, 30 *wir gen*,
23 *sollen*. The Predigten published by Leyser and Schönbach,
have not been included in this, as the sources are probably
mixed, and the individual instances can not always be tested
by the Latin. For these texts the totals are: 65 *sollen*, 35 *gen
wir*, 4 *wir gen*.

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The texts which still remain to be discussed are mostly
from the fifteenth century, though a few go back to the four-
teenth:

Germ. 10, 311 seqq. contains a S p i e l v o n d e n z e h n
J u n g f r a u e n, the Ms. of which (B), is from Upper Hessia,
and is dated 1428. Another Ms. (A), was published by L.
B e c h s t e i n, W a r t b u r g B i b l i o t h e k, H e f t 1, 1855. Ms. A,
from Thuringia, is said to be a century older than B, which
statement however I doubt, as the imperatives found here do
not appear in any of the Mss. dating from the middle of the
fourteenth century. Ms. A has: 1 *gen wir*, 2 *sollen*, 6 *wollen*,
1 *lasst uns*. Ms. B has: 5 *gen wir*, 3 *sollen*, 15 *wollen*, 2 *lasst
uns*. The difference in the number of instances is due to the
fact that the later Ms. is more complete. The differences in
usage are as follows: in two cases where A has *sollen*, B has
wollen, and in two other cases where A has *wollen*, B has
sollen. This is an indication that in the beginning of the fif-
teenth century these two types were almost equivalent in Upper
Hessia and Thuringia. Instances occur: l. 80 *lasset uns die
spielsteine holn;* 312 *lât uns gan;* 68 B, *wir sullen uns an den
rat nicht keren;* A has *wollen* here. L. 149 B, *wir wullen sie . . .
bidden;* A has *sül wy.* Other instances occur, text B, *gen wir,*
ll. 240, 242, 243, 246, 376; *sollen,* 49, 68; *wollen,* 77, 82, 83,
86, 98, 102, 103, 108, 146, 199, 238, 329, 350.

The next indication is found in S t u t t g a r t Ms. b i b l.
15 f o l., of the year 1435, which belongs to Walther's «seventh
to ninth group». In one instance all the remaining Mss. have
sollen, while the Stuttgart Ms. has *wollen.* For this change

the scribe, who calls himself a Coburger, is probably respon-
sible: Joh. 19, 24 *wir wöllen sy nicht zu sneyden, sunder wir
werffen dy loss wez er sey.*

Berlin Ms. germ. fol. 249, of the year 1455, contains
a Psalter. Forms such as *pert, geplantzet, rayt = rad, hait = hat,*
indicate that this Ms. is from the Rhine region. It has 5
gen wir, 1 *wir gen,* 6 *wollen:* Ps. 2, 3 *wir wollen zurissen ir
bant und wir werffen von uns ir yoch;* 73,8 *wir wollen ruwende
machen alle die virtage;* 94,2 *wir wollen sin antzlitz . . . be-
kumeren, und in deme lobe der salme wollen wir yme jubilerē;*
117, 24 *in den wollen wir uns . . . frauwen.*

A collection of „Historienbibeln" is published in
Bibl. Stuttg. vols. 100, 101. Ms. C, of the fifteenth century,
which, to judge from the other variants given is Middle German,
changes 1 *sollen* to *wollen:* p. 146, *wir wellent im hinnacht aber
win geben.* (Gen. 19, 34.)

Walther's „Second group" of Bible translations con-
sists chiefly of the following Mss.: Cod. pal. vindob.
2759—2764, the so-called „Wenzelbibel", of the end of the
fourteenth century; Maihingen III. deutsch 1. fol. 1, of the
year 1437; Weimar fol. 3—8; Nürnberg Cent. III. N.
41—43, of the years 1437—1443.

Only the Old Testament comes under consideration here,
and even parts of that are extraneous. The New Testament
of the Weimar and Nürnberg Mss. belongs to the „seventh to
ninth groups". The text of the „second group" is of
Middle German origin, as I shall show in another connection.
Up to the book of Maccabees there are 180 *gen wir,* 2 *wir
gen,* 5 *wollen.* The book of Maccabees has 11 *gen wir,* 1 *sollen,*
8 *wollen.* The ratios are, in the first part, 96 % *gen wir,*
1 % *wir gen,* 3 % *wollen;* in the second portion, 55 % *gen
wir,* 5 % *sollen,* 40 % *wollen.* This difference would indicate
that the latter portion (the book of Maccabees) is of different
origin from the first. The increase in the ratio of *wollen* in-
dicates that the book of Maccabees was translated later, or
at any rate underwent a later revision. Since noting these
differences I have had no opportunity of examining the texts

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in question for further evidence. There are, however, one or two external considerations which favor this view. The „Wenzelbibel", the oldest of the Mss., ends with Ezechiel, and does not contain the book of the Maccabees. The Weimar Ms. fol. 9, belonging to an entirely different translation, contains the book of Maccabees as it is found in the „second group", thus indicating that this book might have existed separately. A further indication is found in two later Mss., cgm.*) 219—221, and cgm. 502, 503. Here the book of Maccabees does not occupy its regular place at the end of the Old Testament, but occurs after Ecclesiasticus. These facts suffice to form the basis for a reasonable conjecture, but a further study of the Mss. is necessary to prove or disprove this. Even if this part is of later origin, the five instances of *wollen* in the first part belong to the fourteenth century, as they occur also in the „Wenzelbibel".

In certain Mss. of this group there are extraneous portions which Walther has called the „third group". These Mss., cgm. 219—221, cgm. 502, 503, Maih. 1, 3 deutsch fol. III, IV, Gotha Ms. 10, are later than those first mentioned, being dated respectively 1463, 1463, 1468, —. The first three were written by scribes from Tegernsee and Regensburg, while the Gotha Ms. has no mention of scribe or date; it is, however, closely related to the Maihingen Ms. The dialect of all these Mss. is Bavarian, with traces of Middle German. The fact that the older Mss. of the „second group", including the „Wenzelbibel", are Middle German, and furthermore the fact that the scribes of these later Mss. are known to have been Bavarians, show that the original dialect of the „third group" was also Middle German, though only a few traces of this remain. This group contains 22 *gen wir,* 5 *wir gen,* 11 *sollen,* 1 *wollen.* The presence of the type *wir gen* is a further indication of the Middle German origin of the „third group".

Augsburg Ms. 148 fol., written before 1454, contains the Apocalypse and also „Perikopen". The Ms., whose dialect

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*) cgm. = codex germanicus monacensis.

is Middle German, contains 4 *gen wir*, 7 *sollen*, 1 *wollen:*
Gen. 37, 17 *sie sprachen wir wollen in dothaim geen.*

Berlin Ms. germ. fol. 67, written before 1465, is
also Middle German. It is an incomplete Bible, Walther's
«thirteenth group», and contains 79 *sollen*, 48 *gen wir*,
30 *wollen*, 10 *wir gen*, 1 *lasst uns*, or, 47⁰/o *sollen*, 29⁰/o *gen
wir*, 18⁰/o *wollen*, 6⁰/o *wir gen* · 5⁰/o *lasst uns.* The origin of
the translation is probably Frankish. A few instances follow:
Judic. 19, 9 *lass uns bleiben;* Gen. 1, 26 *wir sollen machen den
menschen;* 2, 18 *wir sullen im machen einen gehilffen;* 11, 3 *komt
wir sollen zigel machen;* 11, 4 *kompt wir sollen bawen . . . wir
sullen erwirdigen unsern namen;* 11, 7 *kümpt wir wollen absteigen
und wollen beschemen ir zungen;* 19, 32 *kum wir wollen in
truncken machen;* 31, 44 *kom wir wollen einen frid machen;*
35, 3 *stet auf wir wollen hinauff zihen;* 37, 17 *kumpt wir
wollen in totten und werffen . . . .;* Exod. 1, 10 *kumpt wir
wollen sie weislich untterdrucken;* Judith 7, 23 *wir beyten der
barmherczikeit gotes;* Job. 19, 28 *wir finden die wurczel
des worts wider in;* 1. Mach. 2, 37 *wir sterben in unser ein-
faltikeit;* Ps. 33, 4 *wir erhohen seinen nomen.*

Nürnberg Solger Ms. fol. 15, of the year 1465,
Middle German, contains 14 *sollen:* Cant 7, 11 *wir sollent gen
uff daz felt;* Ecclesiasticus 44, 1 *wir sollen loben die herlichen
manne;* Sap. 2, 7 *wir sollent uns ergetzen . . . wir sollen uns
kronen . . . wir sollen allenthalben lassen die zeichen.*

Wernigerode Ms. Z ᵇ 7, a «Benedictinerregel» of the
fifteenth century, has 2 *gen wir*, 8 *sollen*, 1 *wollen:* cap. 17, 5
. . . wollen wir auch die tagzeyt ordnen; prol. 18, *darumb
sollen wir . . . aufsten;* cap. 6, 1 *wir closter leuth sollen thon;*
16, 10 *darumb sollen wir . . . lob sagen.*

Germ. 21, 178 seqq., Oswald, Middle German of the
beginning of the fifteenth century, has: p. 178 *Daruff sollen
wir uns . . . legen;* p. 185 *lasset uns heben von hynnen.*

Germ. 12, 228, Songs of the beginning of the fifteenth
century, show four *lasst uns: lasz uns fruntschaft triben; lasz
uns ein swert koufen; lasz uns ein pfenwert koufen; lasz uns
ins Elsass loufen.*

2*

Heidelberg p. g. 37, a biblical Ms., was written for Count Eberhard of Württemberg, probably between 1490 and 1495. Both long vowels and diphthongs occur, but there are few other signs of dialect. The total is 4 *wollen*, 9 *lasst uns*: Sap. 2, 6 *lassent uns niessen . . . und lassent uns brauchen . . . lassent uns fullen mit . . . wynn; lassent uns kronen mit roჳen; in allenn stettin wollenn wyr lassen zaichenn; lassendt uns unnder trükenn den gerechten armen und nit schonen; wyr wollen auch nyt erenn; lassent uns betrügenn; lassent uns sehenn; wir wollenn inn verdammen.*

The condition of things at the end of the fourteenth and during the fifteenth century is then briefly as follows: the types *wollen* and *lasst uns* make their appearance. The type *wir gen* is no longer as prominent as in the earlier part of the fourteenth century. The type *sollen* in the first half of the fifteenth century is more frequent than in the preceding century, but this apparent difference may rather be due to the fact that more of the later Mss. are Frankish, while those from the fourteenth century were largely from other parts of Middle Germany. In the course of the fifteenth century the types *wollen* and *lasst uns* increase in frequency, the former being at first the more prominent of the two. At the end of the century *lasst uns* is the most frequent however, and in the next century Luther uses 83 % *lasst uns,* and 15 % *wollen.*

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1. b. Texts from Middle and Lower Rhine.

In the above consideration of the Middle German dialects the texts from the region of the middle and lower Rhine, Middle Frankish, have not been included, because they show a development slightly different from the rest.

Heyne's „Altniederdeutsche Psalmen", (Altniederdeutsche Denkm. Paderborn 1877), probably of the twelfth century, may be considered here, though the later ones are «Niederfränkisch». They contain only the type *gen wir,* in conformity with the other Middle German texts of the

same period: Ps. 2, 3 *cebrekan wir, verwerfen wir;* 73, 8 *duan wir.* Gloss. Lips. 1069 = Ps. 94, 6, *vuopan wir, ploremus.*

Wack. Kirch. II, no. 510, contains a Marienklage. The Ms. is of the fifteenth century, but Hoffmann, Fundgr. II, considers it to be from a High German original of the thirteenth century: *„Eben deshalb habe ich kein Bedenken getragen, die junge und deshalb schlechte Schreibung in die mhd. umzuwandeln.“* Accordingly, he prints as follows; II, 262 *und lâz uns warten wie ez ime dâ gê;* 265 *Des lâz uns gên ûf ein ende.* The original, strophe 15 of Wackernagel, reads: *laess uns wartten wye isz eme da ghe;* strophe 39 *des laess uns ghehen uff eyn ende.*

As the text is metrical, it is probable that the present form is essentially that of the original, and that Hoffmann's reconstruction is approximately correct. As the type *lasst uns* at that early date is found only in Dutch, the original could not have been strictly High German, but probably came from the lower Rhine, where Dutch influence would be strongest.

Zs. d. A. 2, 302 seqq., an « Osterspiel » of the four-teenth century, contains 1 *gen wir*, 1 *wollen*, 3 *lasst uns:* l. 311 *la uns da hinne keren;* 1114 *loist uns wernen;* 1157 *la uns beide gan;* 312 *geselle wir willen ane vaen;* 341 *volge wir hine alle dri.*

Wack. Kirch. II, nos. 1022, 1023, a Cologne Ms. of the first half of the fifteenth century, contains 5 *lasst uns:* 1022, str. 92 *layst uns . . . groissen;* 96 *laist uns dann aue sagen und syngen, laist uns mit aue bidden sy;* 1023, 84 *laisset uns . . . sy mynnen;* 86 *waill ayn, laisset uns yr denen.*

Wack. Kirch. II, no. 518, a Ms. of the fifteenth century, has *wyr wollen gan = eamus.*

Zs. d. phil. 21, a Ms. of Anna von Köln, of the fifteenth century, contains 1 *gen wir* and 7 *lasst uns: laet ons gaen; loist ons syngen; laist ons . . . overdenken; laist ons singen ind vroelich syn; laist ons nu sin van hertzen vro, und drynken; laist ons nu sin van hertzen vro, und spreken; bidde wir den hilgen geist.*

Germ. 5, 151 seqq., Oswald, contains 1 *gen wir* and 1 *lasst uns: Woluff alle min dienestmann, und lat uns heben von hinnen.* The present text is Upper German, but the original came probably from the lower Rhine.

Berlin Ms. germ. 1244, a Benedictinerregel, is in a dialect approaching Low German. There are 6 *sollen,* 1 *wollen,* 5 *lasst uns:* Prol. 18 *lait uns wanner op staen;* 21 *laet uns myt vlyte horen;* 43 *Hijr umme . . . sulle wy gaen den wege;* 47 *lait uns vragen;* 50 *lait uns horen;* cap. 1, 28 *hijr umme wil wy dey wesen laten;* 6, 1 *lait ons doyn;* 7, 53 *sulle wy louen;* 16, 10 *sulle wy op staen;* 17, 4 *nu sulle wij seyn;* 49, 9 *waer umb sulle wij oecken.*

Göttingen Ms. theol. 215, a Psalter of the fifteenth century, contains 5 *gen wir* and 7 *wir gen:* Ps. 2, 3 *Tzobrechen wir eren bant ende werpen van uns ir joch;* 73, 8 *wir verdilgenē gotz namen;* 82, 13 *wir besiczen erchlichen godes hilge huis;* 94, 2 *wyr vurvangen sin anczlicz;* 94, 6 *komet wir vallen vur gode inde anbeden in inde wir weinen vur eme; wir vreuwen uns in eme.* Exod. 15, 1 *wir singen gode erlichen iss her erhauen.*

Münster Ms. no. 14 (formerly no. 183), contains the beginning of the Old Testament. There are 45 *gen wir,* 1 *wir gen,* 1 *sollen,* 1 *wollen,* 4 *lasst uns:* Gen. 2, 18 *wyr machen eym eyn helpe;* 11, 7 *komet her ind laist ons neder komen;* 31, 44 *kum ind lais uns eyn verbuntnis machen;* 37, 20 *koympt doden wir in jnd laissen wir in in eyn alde kule:* Judic. 19, 8 *lais uns vroelich sin;* 19, 9 *kum ind lais uns gain zo der stat;* 20, 9 *dat soelen wir gemeyn doin;* 1. Reg. 19, 8 *dat wil wir geyuen.*

To sum up the evidence from the Rhine region, it is seen that the types *wollen* and *lasst uns* appear here much earlier than in the other Middle German texts previously considered. This is no doubt due to the proximity of the Dutch and Low German, where these types show an earlier development. In some of the Mss. Low German influence is also apparent in the phonology.

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2. Low German.

The Heliand (ed. Piper, Altsächs. Bibeldichtung, 1897) contains 10 *gen*, 2 *gen wir*, 1 *wir gen*, 1 *sollen*, 3 *wita:* l. 223 *wita kiasan im othrana namon;* 228 *ac wita is thana fader fragon;* 2567 *than faran wi thar alla tuo, halon it mid ûssan handun endi that hrêncurni lesan subro tesamne; endi it an mînan seli duoian, hebbean it thar gihaldan;* 2572 *bindan it . . . endi werpan it . . . lâtan it thar haloian;* 3994 *Ne sculun wi im thia dâd lahan, quat hie, ni wernian wi im thes willion, ac wita im wonian mid;* 3998 *duan ûs alla sô, folgon im . . . ni lâtan ûsa ferah;* 4007 *Nu wi an thana sîth faran endi ina auuekkian* (cf. John 11, 11: The Vulgate here has *vado*, but the text used by the author must have had *eamus;* similarly Otfrid III, 23, 44, and Mone, Schauspiele, no. 7, l. 481 *gen wir do hin . . . und wecken in;* Mone no. 15, l. 1245, *wir wellend gan;* also cgm. 66, cf. p. 36.)

The next instance is a Prudentius gloss of the eleventh century, S. u. S. Gl. II. 582, 15: *hwi radfragon is thia the ir naist sindon, consulamus proxima.* The example is an important piece of evidence, showing, as it does, that the glossator considered this the type which would best convey to the reader the force of the adhortative.

A gap of several centuries follows, the next text being Berlin Ms. germ. 588, a Psalter dated 1396, which contains 2 *wollen* and 13 *lasst uns:* Ps. 73, 8 *wi willet stillē;* 82, 13 *wi willet to erue besicken unde bekumeren den tempel;* 33, 4 *lat uns to zamede . . . hoghen;* 82, 5 *lat uns de cristenheit . . . vorderuen;* 94, 1 *lat uns bewisen.*

Zs. d. phil. 9, 191, a «Geistliches Wächterlied» written between 1406 and 1437, contains 1 *gen wir* and 1 *lasst uns: laet ons na vreuden werven; maken wi den minschen ons gelik.*

Germ. 17, 188, no. 3, has, in a song written at Lübeck before 1447: *lass uns drincken und frolich sin.*

Germ. 2, 164, «Osterreime» of the fifteenth century: *nu wille wy keren = exhibeamus nos.*

Germ. 13, 476, Aesop, of the fifteenth century, has: *wy laten disse rede steken unde sein wo wy de spissen breken.*

Wernigerode Ms. Z^b 30, 4° contains a Psalter of the fifteenth century. There are also two Dutch Mss. which have the same text as this Low German one. In the Psalms proper there are 12 *lasst uns,* in the Cantica 1 *gen wir,* indicating that the latter are from another source, though a single instance is not sufficient to prove this. A few instances will be given: Ps. 2, 3 *lat uns entwe breken ere bande uñ lat uns en·wech werpen ore iock;* 73, 8 *lat uns don rauwē alle de festdage;* 82, 5 *komet unde latet uns dussen vorleysen van deme volke unde latet uns israhels namē nicht mer gedechtig wesen;* 117, 24 *lat uns blide unde vrolick wesen;* Exod. 15, 1 *Singe wy dem hern'.*

Niederdeutsches Jahrbuch 1878, pp. 62, 63, contains a «Gebetbuch» of the fifteenth century, with alternate Latin and German words. There are 7 *wir gen: dicamus wy segghen omnes alle; atque clamemus wi ropen singuli sunderghen; ploremus wy wenen; flectamus wy bughen, wy huldighen; modulemur wy synghen; jubilemus wy schallen.* The presence of the Latin text gives additional importance to these instances.

Zs. d. A. 13, 288, a Bordesholmer Marienklage, written before 1476, contains 2 *lasst uns:* ll. 149, 161 *lat uns beseen.*

The Lübeck Bible of 1494, in the portion translated independently (Genesis to 2. Kings incl., and Cantic. Cant.), contains 67 *lasst uns:* Gen. 2, 18 *late uns em maken ene hulpe;* 4, 8 *me late uns butene ghā;* 11, 3 *late uns makē teghelstene uñ mē late uns de berne mit vure.* This large number of instances of *lasst uns* is particularly noteworthy, there being not a single instance of another type. In the other portions of the Lübeck Bible which were copied from the Cologne Bible, the various types which occur there are reproduced almost without change.

The next text is the Halberstadt Bible of 1522. The portion from Genesis to 1. Chron. 9, 3 is independent and contains 59 *gen wir,* 1 *sollen,* 3 *wollen,* 2 *lasst uns.* Subsequently the Lübeck and Cologne Bibles are copied, but from Jerem. to Maccab. is independent again, and here there are

.36 *gen wir*, 1 *wir gen*, 15 *wollen*. This forms quite a contrast to the independent portion of the Lübeck Bible, which, as was seen above, contains only *lasst uns*. We might therefore suspect that these portions of the Halberstadt Bible were not translated independently in 1522, but were taken from some older translation of which the Ms. has not come down to us. But then it is to be expected that in a dialect where so many forms are current, various writers may prefer special forms. In the Gebetbuch (p. 24) for instance, only the type *wir gen* occurs, while in the Hamburg Ms. scrin. 157 only the type *wollen* is used. The Lübeck Bible again has only *lasst uns* in the independent portion. No other dialect exhibits this phenomenon in such scope and frequency.

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Only a brief summing up of this dialect is necessary. The earliest text, the Heliand, already showed a variety of forms, and these continued down to the sixteenth century The types *wollen* and *lasst uns* appear earlier than in Middle German, and the type *wir gen* is a special characteristic at all periods.

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3. Dutch.

In Maerlant's Rijmbijbel (ed. David, Brussels 1858), of the thirteenth century, the Ms. of which is however from the year 1321, there are 20 *gen wir*, 1 *wir gen*, 1 *weten gan*, 3 *sollen*, 9 *lasst uns*. In the first volume only the type *gen wir* occurs, while in the second and third all the types are found. The number of instances of *lasst uns* is especially to be noted, as showing a very considerable increase. Instances: 1. 311 *Maken wi den man;* 525 *Maken wi hem . . . helpe;* 2814 *Slawine doet eñ proeven;* 2816 *Werpen wine in die cisterne;* 5732 *Wi sullen . . . varen;* 15695 *laet ons . . . bidden;* 15770 *Wi .ij. sullen voren ghaen;* 17029 *Wie sullen uutgaen;* 19204 *laet ons . . . varen;* 19612 *laet ons . . doen;* 19614 *Maer laet ons . . . sterven;* 19855 *laet ons vrientscep maken;* 21975 *Wi*

laten van hem; 26621 *Weten rumen dese stede* = *Transeamus ex his sedibus.* Additional instances of *gen wir:* ll. 313, 2817, 2821, 2835, 3533, 4248, 5679, 7585, 7972, 18923, 19398, 19609, 24717, 24718, 30076. *Lasst uns:* 24710, 24719, 29380, 34723.

In the first part of Reinaert (ed. Martin, Paderborn 1874), of the thirteenth century, the Ms. being of the fourteenth, there are 8 *gen wir,* 6 *sollen,* 2 *lasst uns.* In the second part, of the fourteenth century, there are 5 *gen wir,* 1 *sollen,* 1 *wollen,* 6 *lasst uns.* Here also we notice an increase of *lasst uns* forms, probably indicating, as above, that the type was in the process of development in the thirteenth century. Instances: I. l. 431 *wi . . . sullen . . . singen. Darna sullen wise bringen; . . . dan sullen wi . . . ons beraden;* 1185 *laet ons keren;* 1848 *gawi alle voort;* 1953 *Nu ga wi ende bruwen hem!;* 3211 *laet ons gaen;* 3428 *sullen wi alle lopen . . . ende sulne vanghen ende sullen sine kele hanghen.* II. l. 1106 *ga wi;* 2008, 3237 *laet ons gaen;* 3700 *laet ons wreken;* 3738 *nu willen wi niet ontbieden;* 4916 *laet ons horen;* 5178 *laet ons bidden;* 5360 *Wi sellen . . . doen;* 5664 *laet . . ons . . jaghen.* Additional instances of *gen wir* occur: I. l. 1083, 1155, 1958, 1960, 3134, 3331. II. l. 1174, 1206, 1872, 3708.

Germ. 9, 417, Flovent, of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, contains 1 *lasst uns:* l. 359 *laet ons wapenen saen.*

Zs. d. A. 22, 97, a Ms. of the Revelation, of the fourteenth century, has: *verblijden wij, ende gheven wij hem glorie.*

Cod. pal. vindob. 2771, 2772, an incomplete Bible of the year 1361, exists also in other Mss., cgm. 5062, 1102, 5150. Up to the Psalter there are 68 *gen wir,* 7 *sollen,* 2 *wollen,* 30 *lasst uns:* Deut. 13, 6 *coemt wi willen dienen vreemde goden;* 1. Reg. 14, 36 *saul seyde, wille wi bi nacht op tiden op die philistijn en laetse ons woesten;* 14, 10 *so sullen wi tot hem gaen;* 2. Reg. 10, 12 *laet ons vechten.*

The rest of the translation, New Testament, Maccabees and Psalter, has 12 *gen wir,* 3 *wir gen,* 2 *sollen,* 72 *lasst uns.* Walther, cols. 652, — 3, has surmised that this part might be of more recent origin than the first. The difference in usage as regards the imperative supports such a view. In the first

part there are 63,5% *gen wir,* 6,5% *sollen,* 2% *wollen,* 28% *lasst uns.* In the second portion there are 13,4% *gen wir,* 3,4% *wir gen,* 2% *sollen,* 81% *lasst uns:* 2. Cor. 4, 2 *mer wi maken ons selve louelic;* Hebr. 6, 1 *waer om wi after laeten bliuen die leringe;* Luc. 9, 33 *wiltu so sullen wi hier maken drie woeningen;* Ps. 94, 1 *coemet latet ons zeer v'urouden in den h're, laet ons yubileren.*

Berlin Ms. germ. fol. 90, a Gospel Ms. of the fifteenth century, has 1 *sollen,* 23 *lasst uns:* Matth. 17, 4 *laet ons hier dry tabernaculen maken;* 21, 38 *laet ons hem doiden;* 26, 46 Luc. 2, 15, Joh. 11, 7 *laet ons gaen;* Marc. 6, 37 *so sullen wi gaen ende copen.*

Berlin Ms. germ. 331, 8°, a fifteenth century Psalter, contains 6 *gen wir,* 3 *lasst uns,* 7 *moeten.* As the latter type occurs only here, the instances will be given in full when that form is discussed: Ps. 73, 8 *laet ons doen rusten;* 117, 24 *v'hoeghe wy eñ verblidē moetē wi d'in.*

A review of the texts enumerated, which are not claimed to be complete, teaches that the various types, especially *lasst uns,* were developed much earlier in Dutch than in German. From Dutch this type probably spread into Low German and the neighboring Middle German dialects, thence into Upper Germany.*)

Grimm IV. 88 gives a number of additional instances of *lasst uns* in Dutch. J. Verdam (Verslagen, Amsterd. Acad. 1894 pp. 197—228, „Laten als Hulpwerkword van wijze in het Nederlandsch en Middelnederlandsch,") discusses the types *laet ons* and *laten wij* in Dutch, which latter form he finds to be quite frequent since the sixteenth century. On p. 206 he also quotes from a German student song: *Lassen wir zusammen fidele brüder sein.* On pp. 207, 208

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*) *Let us go* is also quoted by Grimm, Deutsche Gram. IV. 88, from Chaucer, but as English does not come into contact with German during this period I have not examined that language further. Koch, Eng. Gram. vol. 2, p. 34, quotes only a modern instance. Mätzner, Eng. Gram. vol. 2, p. 145, quotes an instance from the Townley Mysteries, and another from the Coventry Mysteries.

numerous additional instances of *laet ons* in Middle Dutch are given, but neither Verdam nor Grimm discusses the other types, or the relative frequency of *laet ons.*

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4. Bavarian.

For the early period there is not much material. The Paris glosses, of the eighth century, have only the first type: S. u. S. Gl. I. 20, 1 *soachemes;* 112, 15, 16 *zaspaltemus, prehhemes.*

In the Vienna Ms. of Notker's Psalms, of the eleventh century, are found some of the earliest instances of *gen wir:* Ps. 2, 3 *prechen wir iro gebente, unde werfen ab uns iro joh, nelazen unsih nieht;* 117, 24 *an demo tage frewen wir unsih, an demo tage sin fro.* Ps. 33, 4 remains like the Alemannic text, without pronoun. In the instances given above we observe the same transitional type that was found in Williram. Only the first verb of a series has the pronoun, this being considered sufficient to indicate the person and mood of all the other verbs. Later, the pronoun has to be supplied with all the verbs, except occasionally, when the conjunction *und* is used. Here however, there is no conjunction.

The Alemannic Ms. of Notker, as will be seen later, has only the type *gen.*

In the Wiener Genesis, of about 1070, (Fundgr. II), there are 2 *gen,* 3 *gen wir,* 1 *sollen:* p. 13, 5 *Nu tuon wir ouch einen man;* 17, 36 *sprach . . . got; wir sculen im eine hilfe tuon* = Gen. 2, 18. (The *Milstat Ms.* has in this place *mache wir.*) P. 54, 15 *slahen wir denselben hunt, und werfen in;* 54, 21 *nie ne slahen in, werfen in in die cisternen.*

The above instance of *sollen* is one of the earliest authentic ones in High German. It will be noted that the type *gen* had at this time not been completely supplanted by the later ones.

In the Exodus, of somewhat later date, there are 1 *gen,* 1 *gen wir,* 2 *sollen.* Fundgr. II. 86, 36 *wir sculen wisliche faren, daz wir is ê wol bewaren* = Exod. 1, 10 *sapienter opprimamus;* 94, 2 *so sehen ave dar zû, daz du noh sules tuon;* Milstat I.

159, 34 *ich ne wil nicht langir biten, wir schulen nach riten.*
(The Vienna Ms. does not extend thus far.) Milstat I. 163, 32
mit im so tü wir same, daz.

A later version of the Books of Moses in the Vorau Ms.
has, p. 6, 14: *wir sulen tün einen man* = Gen. 1, 26.

The same Ms. has another imperative p. 154, 3 *nu samnen
uns alle geliche.*

The Windberg Psalter, cgm. 17, of the year 1178,
edited by Graff, Quedlinburg 1839, and Schmeller, Zs.
d. A. 8, 120, contains 2 *gen,* 13 *gen wir,* showing to what
degree the type *gen wir* had supplanted *gen* by the end of the
twelfth century in Bavarian: Ps. 33, 4 *grozlichit unde erhohen
namen sinen;* 82, 4 *chomet unde verliesen;* 94, 6 *chomet anebete
wir unde niderwallen unde weinen;* 117, 24 *nu screche wir unde
frowen unsih.* In the latter two instances we are reminded of
the usage in Williram and the Vienna Notker Ms., but here
the conjunction *und* occurs, in the other texts not. These
instances are to be classed under *gen wir,* not *gen.* A further
instance of *gen wir* occurs Exod. 15, 1 (Zs. d. A. 8, 120)
Singe wir demo herro eruollicliche.

Cod. pal. vindob. 2682, an interlinear Psalter of the
twelfth century, has 2 *gen* and 8 *gen wir:* Ps. 2, 3 *zebreche wir
diu bant ire und werfen von uns;* 33, 4 *lobet . . . . und erheben
namen;* 82, 5 *chomet und vertriben siu;* 117, 24 *fro sin wir
und menden an dem.*

In the first and fourth instances we note again the trans-
itional form previously mentioned.

Fundgr. I, pp. 71—126, contains sermons of the be-
ginning of the thirteenth century. Forms such as *diseu,* 73,35;
liebeu, 76,47; *biscolfe,* 79,42; *pischolfe,* 80,6; *zaichen,* 79,44;
etc. indicate that the text is Bavarian. The following instances
can be referred to the Latin: 71,1, *Haec est dies quam fecit
dominus, Daz sprichet, dirre tach ist den got geschafen hat, in
dem schulen wir uns fraeuden.* (= Ps. 117,24, *exultemus et
laetemur in ea).* P. 72,1, . . . *in dem schulen wir uns trosten
unde fraeuden.* P. 78,21, *Sicut Christus ambulavit et nos am-
bulemus, als der heilige crist, ... also schulen wir nah leben.*

P. 93.2, *tempus adest sobrium, quaeramus* . . . = l. 12, *tempus adest sobrium, uns ist komen ein niuhter unt ein kischez cît, wir scúlen unsern herren súchen.* P. 111,18, *abiiciamus . . . et induamur . . . wir schuln hin werfen diu vinsteriu werche unde schuln an uns legen diu wafen . . .* 22, *diu werch suln wir hin werfen unde sculn diu wafen des liehtes an uns legen.*

Instances without the Latin: p. 82,11, *Nu sente wir in hiute ze boten.* 123,6, *nu cheren wir wider zů zim mit warer rủwe;* l. 18, *nu sin wir alle sundaere, nu machen den . . . ein fraeude an uns unde chomen ze gotes hulden.*

The instances of *gen* show that the text is old.

Total, 7 *soln*, 2 *gen*, 2 *gen wir*. It is to be noted that all of the instances of *soln* can be referred to the Latin, the others not.

In the second volume of Schönbach's Predigten there are 84 *sollen*, 28 *gen*, and 2 *gen wir*. The parallel Latin text occurs only with one instance of *gen wir*, but the above ratio may be considered approximately correct. The scarcity of the type *gen wir* as compared with the preceding texts may be due to Alemannic or early Bavarian origin. The sermons are probably of the thirteenth century and contain a number of marked Bavarian characteristics, but their ultimate origin is unknown to me. Instances: p. 24,16, *faciamus hominem, mache wir den menschen;* 163,30 *bite wir.* *Gen:* 12,16 *sehen zů uns selben;* 14,25 *des geben uns schuldich und widersagen im;* 89,5 *daz lazzen uns riwen;* 92,3 *da eilen wider und sprechen;* 123,33 *nu sehen zů uns selben.* Other instances of *gen:* 16,21 (2), 22, 26; 24, 38; 46, 36, 38; 69, 26, 27; 71, 35, 37; 75, 8, 10, 11 (2) 12, 13; 109, 34; 123, 32, 33, 37; 130, 7; 168, 39. Instances of *sollen* occur: 12,17 *nu sůln wir den almaechtigen got piten;* 19,21 *dem schůllen wir hiute . . . . widersagen;* 20,38 *nu sůln wir in hiute . . . . biten;* 77,21 *nu schůln wir den almaechtigen got innenchlichen biten.* Further instances are found: 3, 25; 5, 32, 37; 6, 3, 7, 8; 7, 20; 9, 15; 11, 22; 12, 10, 20; 15, 10; 33, 26; 35, 11; 37, 28; 39, 33; 44, 25; 46, 32, 33; 47, 9, 11; 52, 17; 53, 19; 54, 24, 25, 26; 59, 2; 61, 18; 63, 40; 64, 2; 65, 18; 69, 22; 79, 25; 83, 19; 85, 29; 86, 26, 28; 89, 7; 91, 37; 94,

12; 97, 16, 17; 102, 20; 103, 39, 40; 105, 3; 107, 22, 26, 27;
109, 19, 31; 115, 2, 8, 15; 117, 6, 37; 106, 26, 34, 36, 37, 38,
39; 133, 20, 30; 134, 8; 135, 7, 12; 136, 17; 138, 31; 140, 16;
142, 20, 39; 143, 38; 147, 37; 151, 37; 156, 14; 157, 13; 158,
20; 161, 29; 162, 17; 173, 23.

Jeitteles, Predigten (Innsbruck 1878), Austro-Bavarian
of the thirteenth century, have 104 *sollen*, 35 *gen wir*, 25 *gen*.
The comparatively large number of instances of *gen* is no
doubt due to literal copying of an older text. Only seven
examples have a Latin text accompanying: p. 25, 7, *Cantate
domino canticum novum, darumb suln wir singen in unserm herzin
ein niwez sanch*. l. 18, *Cantate — da wider suln wir singen*
l. 28, *Cantate domino canticum, nu suln wir hiut singen*.
p. 65, 19, *commendemus nos in multa patiencia. Wir suln
uns selben lobesam machen . . . und suln gewafent sîn . . .
Wir suln gewarnet sîn* (cf. 2. Cor. 6,4). p. 68, 22 *Wir suln
wachen und munter sîn* (cf. 1. Thess. 5,6). 11.26, *nu arbeiten
wir und wachen.* 45,3, *Nu sehen uns an und erchennen die
steige siner genaden.*

Further instances of *sollen*: 3, 3; 4, 4; 7, 3; 7, 25; 8, 14,
19; 9, 11; 11, 14; 14, 22, 24; 15, 24; 20, 8; 21, 8, 21; 23, 4;
24, 12; 26, 20; 29, 15; 30, 26, 28; 33, 6, 10, 20; 34, 16; 35, 22;
36, 19, 24; 37, 23; 39, 16; 40, 7; 41, 15; 42, 25; 46, 18, 26;
47, 10; 48, 15; 50, 15; 51, 12; 54, 2, 12, 20; 56, 27; 68, 21;
69, 22; 70, 23; 72, 14, 16, 18; 73, 11; 74, 8; 75, 16, 23; 85, 4,
6, 19; 86, 6, 26; 89, 8, 20; 92, 5, 10, 13; 93, 2; 95, 1, 7; 98, 2,
3, 4, 18, 23; 100, 4, 6; 101, 2; 104, 1, 10, 14, 17; 106, 27; 107, 3;
109, 3; 110, 6, 23; 112, 18; 115, 16; 118, 9, 13; 119, 20; 120, 3;
121, 3; 123, 23; 126, 3; 129, 1, 31; 130, 16; 131, 8; 135, 22, 29;
136, 13.

Gen wir: 29, 22, 26; 30, 5; 34, 23; 41, 13; 44, 22; 51, 5;
52, 32; 54, 17, 18; 55, 7, 8, 9; 57, 1, 15; 60, 28; 63, 30; 64, 17,
18, 19; 75, 18; 83, 11; 98, 14; 100, 25, 26, 27; 101, 8; 118, 24;
120, 26; 128, 19; 130, 3; 123, 23. *Gen:* 48, 18; 61, 6; 65, 9,
10; 78, 3; 79, 6; 86, 10, 11, 12; 92, 13; 97, 27; 98, 24; 102, 26;
104, 24; 105, 18; 109, 13; 112, 12; 123, 17; 129, 22; 130, 19;
135, 26; 136, 2, 3, (2).

Cgm. 91, a Benedictinerregel of the thirteenth century, contains 3 *gen wir,* 8 *sollen.* These instances can of course be verified by reference to the Latin: Prol. 18 *Darumbe suln wir doh etwenne ufsten;* 39 *Davon suln wir unsere lanken aufgurten;* 47 *doh vrage wir got mit dem propheten;* 50 *nah dieser vrage hore wir brûder gotes antwort.*

This text contains traces of Middle German.

Cgm. 90, also a Benedictinerregel of the thirteenth century, has 4 *gen wir* and 7 *sollen.* The text is printed in the Wiener Sitzungsberichte vol. 98, pp. 921—971, but the following examples have been taken from the Ms. itself: cap. 1,29 *darumb laz wir dise und stiften;* 6,1 *wir sulen tün daz der wisage sprichet;* 17,2 *nu sehen wir von den andern citen.*

The Kaiserchronik, of the twelfth century, published by Schröder, has 10 *gen wir* and 32 *sollen,* but these instances can not be verified by the Latin: l. 42 *nu grife wir;* l. 209 *Nû sculen wir wider grîfen;* 2005 *nû schul wir got flêgen;* 2124 *wir sulen pillîche aehtesal doln;* 2362 *machen wir ain man;* 3028 *geben wir;* 4200 *wir suln im gerne nâh volgen;* 11711 *hine suln wir gâhen;* 12310 *wir suln si gên lâzen.* Other instances of *sollen:* ll. 1072, 2166, 2572, 3210, 3627, 4201, 5248, 5645, 6467, 8089, 9247, 10095, 11340, 11531, 11599, 12066, 12310, 13941, 16722, 16790. *Gen wir:* 2384, 11393, 12176, 12806, 13839, 16615.

Cgm. 88, Sermons, published in the Wiener Sitzungsberichte vol. 94, contains 3 *sollen:* p. 218, *wir schulen in unser jugent niezen daz uns got geschaffen hat — utamur creatura =* Sap. 2, 6—7; *wir schulen uns scapel machen von rosen, und schulen unser vreude haben . . . coronemus nos rosis, ubique relinquamus signa leticie.* The Ms. is of the thirteenth century.

Berthold v. Regensburg (ed. Pfeiffer, Wien 1862, 1880), of the latter part of the thirteenth century, has 13 *sollen* and 1 *gen wir.* Three of the instances have the Latin text parallel: I. 479, 19 *sprichet der priester: oremus. Das ist alse viel gesprochen: wir suln beten;* 504,1 *unde sprichet: oremus, das sprichet: 'wir sûln beten';* 539, 17 *faciamus duo luminaria, wir suln zwei lieht machen.* Further instances of *sollen* are found:

I. 152, 18; 184, 25 seqq.; 219, 12; 313, 16; 492, 32; 504, 11; 506, 26; II. 170, 21, 27. *Gên wir* occurs I. 2, 33.

Mone, I. no. 6, a Marienklage, is from a Bavarian Ms. of the latter part of the thirteenth century. It contains one instance of *sollen* with the Latin, ll. 161—8: *sed eamus* . . . . *Wol dan ir fraven, bir suln gan.*

The Olmütz Perikopen, Austro-Bavarian of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, published Zs. d. phil. 12,1, contain 13 *gen wir:* p. 1,4 (Rom. 13, 12,) *darum werf wir ab di uerch der vinster und werd wir angelegt di waffen;* p. 7,11 (Luc. 2,15) *ge wir hintz Bethlehem und besehen das wart;* p. 21,6 (2. Cor. 4,2,) *sunder in allen dingen erpiet wir uns selbe.*

Vol. 105 of the Wiener Sitzungsberichte contains a Passional of the fourteenth century. This has 1 *gen wir,* 2 *sollen:* p. 99 l. 210. *Ge wir in Judeam wieder,* ll. 236—240 *Lazarus ist tot* . . . . *doch sull wir zu im gan. Do sprach Thomam* . . . 244 *wir sullen gen hin und sterben mit im,* = Joh. 11, 14—16.

Zs. d. A 1,1 Ruodlieb, of the fourteenth century, has 3 *gen wir.*

Zs. d. A. 8, 156 seqq., Konrad v. Heimesfurt, exists in several Mss. Ms. C, Bavarian, changes *lazen* to *laze wir.*

Olmütz Ms. 2. V. 10, an interlinear Psalter of the fourteenth century, has 13 *gen wir:* Ps. 2,3 *czu reisse wir di pant ir und werf wir von uns das ioch ir;* 33,4 *erhoh wir den namen sein;* 82,5 *komt und czu stor wir si;* Exod. 15,1 *Singe wir dem hern erleich.*

Augsburg Ms. 3, a New Testament of the year 1350, is probably the oldest representative of a group of Mss. called by Walther the «seventh to ninth groups». The dialect is in the main Bavarian, but there are very many Middle German characteristics. This translation has 31 *gen wir,* 9 *sollen,* 4 *wir gen.* The latter forms are due to the influence of the Middle German, which was probably the original dialect: Matth. 17,4 *wir machen hie driu tabernakel;* Luc. 15, 33 *ezze wir und wir werden vrölich;* Joh. 11, 16 *sunder wir gen zu im;* 19, 24 *wir sülen in niht zesneiden sunder wir werffen di loz;*

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Act. 4, 17 . . . *schüll wir in dron:* 15, 36 . . . *schüll wir haim súchen;* 1. Joh. 3, 18 *wir sulen niht minnen;* 4, 19 *darumb sul wir got minnen;* Rom. 3, 8 *wir sulen tun daz bose.*

Cgm. 341, of the fourteenth century, a fragmentary translation extending from Gen. to Exod. 21, constitutes the «sixth group» of Walther. The dialect is Bavarian, but as the rest of the Ms., containing the translation of the «second group» and the «eigth Psalter», has a Middle German origin, we may assume the same for this portion also. There are 20 *gen wir,* 7 *sollen,* 1 *wir gen,* the latter being a survival from the Middle German: Gen. 1, 26 *wir sullen machen einen menschen;* 2, 18 *wir sullen im machen einen gehilffen;* 34, 9 *wir machen unter einander heiret;* 37, 20 *wir sullen niht toden sein sel noch sullen niht vergiezzen sein blut;* Exod. 15, 1, 21 *dem herren sullen wir singen.*

Two Mss. of Perikopen, cgm. 6019, 4878, written in 1371, 1372, contain the same text as Augsb. Ms. 3, mentioned above, and consequently have the same types of imperatives.

Cgm. 532, an «Evangelienharmonie» of 1367, is also related to Augsb. Ms. 3. It has 5 *gen wir,* 2 *sollen,* 2 *wir gen,* 1 *lasst uns.* There are also some Middle German characteristics, and the instances of *wir gen* are in the same places in Augsb. Ms. 3, which could not have been due to accident. The instance of *lasst uns* is among the earliest in High German: Luc. 15, 23 *totet ez und lat uns ezzen und frolichen sein;* Joh. 11, 15 *mer wir gen dar zu im;* 19, 24 *sunder wir werffen daz loz wem er werde.*

Cod. pal. vindob. 3079, a Psalter, was written in 1477 by «Asmus werbener vonn delczsch das da leit in meissen». The text is Bavarian, with Middle German elements, and contains 13 *gen wir,* 1 *wir gen,* 1 *sollen:* Ps. 33, 4 *erheb wir seinen namen;* 117, 24 *wir vrolocken und schullen frewen darin.*

Cgm. 363, a fifteenth century Psalter, is Bavarian, and contains the same text as the preceding, from which it varies in having 1 *gen* for *gen wir:* Ps. 33, 4 *erheben seinen namen;* 117, 24 *wir frolocken und schullen frewn dar an.*

Cgm. 12, a Bavarian Psalter of the fourteenth century, has 9 *gen wir*, 2 *sollen*, 1 *wir gen:* Ps. 2, 3 *wir zerbrechen iren pant und werfen ab uns;* 33, 4 *erhohen wir seinen namen;* 94, 2 *so suln wir uns im vor ergeben.*

Cgm. 1117[b], a Bavarian Psalter of the year 1403, contains 3 *gen wir*, 7 *sollen*, 1 *wir gen:* Ps. 2, 3 *wir sullen zerreissen ire pant;* 33, 4 *wir süllen erhöhen seinen nomen;* 82, 5 *chompt her und wir zerströwen sy;* Exod. 15, 1 *wir süllen singen dem herren.*

I have here grouped a series of Mss. in which are found sporadic instances of *wir gen,* which in most cases can be traced back to Middle German influence. In the following Mss. there are isolated instances of the type *gen,* which are in most cases due directly to Alemannic influence.

Cgm. 69, a Psalter of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, contains 2 *gen wir* and 1 *gen.* As this translation exists also in the Suabian Mss. cgm. 440, 524, written respectively in 1390 and 1409, it is evident that the instance of *gen* is due to the Alemannic source: Ps. 2, 3 *Nu prech wir ir pant und verwerffen wir;* 33, 4 *michelt den herren mit mir und loben den namen.*

Cgm. 422, a Benedictinerregel of the fifteenth century, from Tegernsee, has 1 *gen,* 5 *gen wir,* 6 *sollen.* The same text is found in cgm. 423. The proximity of Tegernsee to the Alemannic border accounts for the instance of *gen:* Prol. 18 *wir schullen auffsten;* 21 *mit offen augen hörn das uns die;* 43 *so schüllen wir waren;* 47 *so schüllen wir fragen.*

Cgm. 36, a Benedictinerregel written at Altomünster in 1388, is mixed Bavarian and Alemannic. Schönbach, in vol. 98 of the Wiener Sitzungsberichte, mentions this Ms. and states it to be of Alemannic origin. There are 3 *gen* and 12 *sollen,* which fact confirms the statement just made: Prol. 18 *Nu süllen wir doch ze iungste aufsten;* 21 *da von sullen wir unserew augen auf tun . . . und sullen hören;* 43 *da von süllen wir uns gürtten;* 50 *Nach diser frag hörent lieben brüder got*

3*

uns antworten; cap. 1, 28 *darumb lazzen dise underwegen und chomen mit gotes hilfe.*

Schönbach, p. 978, notes the fact already pointed out by Schmeller, that cgm. 829, written 1481, is a descendant of cgm. 36. The younger Ms. is more Suabian in character; it retains the instances of *sollen* of cgm. 36, but changes *gen* to *gen wir:* cap. 1, 28 *darumb lassen wir dise underwegen und komen mit gotz hilff;* Prol. 50 is changed to *hört,* second person, as indeed *hörent* of the older Ms. may also be regarded as of the second person.

There are several other Mss. at Munich, not noted by Schönbach or Schmeller, which have the same translation. Cgm. 805 is closer to cgm. 36 in that it preserves the types *gen* and *sollen* unchanged. It contains also Bavarian and Middle German elements. Cgm. 799, which was written in 1463, is from the convent of « sand Ermdrautt auf den Nun- burck ». The Ms. shows many Bavarian characteristics; the instances of *gen* are changed to *gen wir,* but *sollen* remains. That this Ms. was intended for the use of nuns is shown by the fact that in some places, e. g. Prol. 50, *swester* is put in place of *bruder,* though in other places, e. g. cap. 7, 53, *prüder* remains. A second scribe sets in cap. 21, f. 23[verso]. Still another Ms. of this group not previously mentioned is cgm. 4698, which has the dates 1459, 1469. It also has many Bavarian characteristics, and all the instances of *gen* have been eliminated.

Another translation of the Benedictinerregel exists in cgm. 471, written at Benedictbeuren in 1455. The text is Bavarian and contains 13 instances of *gen wir:* Prol. 18 *darumb sten wir auf;* 21 *horn wir was uns ermant;* 43 *gen wir sein weg.*

Cgm. 66, a Perikopen Ms. of the fourteenth century, or even of the thirteenth according to Walther, is in the Bavarian dialect, with some traces of Middle German. It con- tains 5 *gen wir,* 1 *sollen:* Luc. 2, 15 *ge wir hintz Bethlehem drat und besehen daz* wort; Joh. 11, 7 *Ge wir aber zu den juden,* 11 *ge wir hin zu im* (= vado, cf. Heliand, p. 23), 16 *gen auch wir und sterben;* Matth. 26, 46 *Nu stet uf und ge wir.*

Cgm. 300, a Perikopen Ms of 1431, is also Bavarian. The gospels are the same as in the preceding Ms. There are altogether 18 *gen wir,* 5 *sollen:* Luc. 2, 15 *gee wir hintz wetlahem;* Joh. 11, 7—16 *Gee wyer awer zw den iuden, . . . Gee wyer hin, . . . wyer schullen awer dar geen, . . . ge auch wier und sterben;* 1. Joh. 3, 18 *nicht hab wir lieb mit dem wart;* 4, 14 *wir schüllen an einander lieb haben;* Gen. 1, 26 *mach wir einen menschen.*

Cgm. 58, of the fourteenth century, is also closely related to cgm. 66. The dialect is also Bavarian, and there are 5 *gen wir,* 11 *sollen:* Luc. 2, 15 *nu ge wir drot hintz betlehem und sehen daz wort;* Rom. 13, 12 *do von süllen wir von uns werfen deu werch der vinster und sullen uns chlaiden mit d'waffen;* 2 Cor. 6, 4 *sunder wir süllen in allen dingen erzaigen.*

Cgm. 529, another Perikopen Ms. of the fifteenth century, is Bavarian, and the text of the gospels agrees with that of cgm. 66. There are altogether 8 *gen wir,* 4 *sollen:* Joh. 11, 7—16 *ge wir aber zu den iuden, . . . wir sullen aber dar geen, . . . nu gen auch wir und sterben mit jm;* Rom. 13, 12 *Darumb sullen wir von uns werffen die werch der vinsternis und sullen anlegen die waffen des liechts.*

The Bavarian texts cgm. 424, of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, cgm. 745, written in 1397, and cgm. 434, of the fifteenth century, also contain nearly the same text as cgm. 66. Another Ms. which is probably related, is St. Florian XI. 68, Bavarian, of the fifteenth century. This has 4 *gen wir* and 1 *sollen:* Luc. 2, 15 *gee wir zu bethlehem und pesechen das wort;* Joh. 11, 7—16 *Gee wir aber in judea, . . . wir sullen aber dar gen, . . . ge auch wir und sterben mit im.*

Cgm. 531, a Bavarian Perikopen Ms. of 1420, contains 12 *sollen:* Gal. 5, 25 *so sull wir auch gaistlichen gen und erzaigen; wir sullen nicht uppiger leben pegeren;* 6, 9 *darumb sull wir an guetn werchn nicht ablassen, . . . wir sullen allen lawten guet tun und lieb erzaigen;* 1. Cor. 10, 8—9 *wir sullen uns huetten vor unchawsch, . . . wir sullen got nicht versuchen.*

Cgm. 351, a Bavarian Perikopen Ms. dated 1474, is probably related to the above St. Florian Ms. XI. 68, and has 6 *gen wir,* 1 *sollen:* Luc. 2, 15 *nu ge wir drot gein betlehem*

und besechen das wunder; Joh. 11, 7—16 *Ge wir widerumb in judea, . . . wir sullen aber da hin gen, . . . nu gen wir auch und sterben mit im;* Matth. 26, 46 *stet auf und ge wir.*

Cgm. 420, another Bavarian Perikopen Ms. of the fifteenth century, shows traces also of Middle German. In the New Testament there are 1 *gen wir,* 8 *sollen,* in the Old Testament 8 *gen wir,* thus indicating a different origin: Gen. 1, 26 *machen wir einen menschen;* 1. Cor. 5, 8 *also sullen wir si essen;* 10, 8 *wir ensullen nicht verunchäusen als etleich, . . . noch wir ensullen nicht bechoren christum.*

Cgm. 530, another Bavarian Perikopen Ms. of the same period contains 3 instances of *gen wir.*

Walther's tenth Psalm translation exists in about ten Mss., the majority of which are Bavarian of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They contain 11 *gen wir,* 2 *sollen.* Berlin Ms. germ. fol. 630, Ps. 2, 3 *ceprechen sull wir irew pant und iren gewalt leg wir von uns;* 33, 4 *lobt got mit mir und lob wir seinen nam;* 82, 5 *kompt her und zerstor wir sew;* 94, 1 *chompt her frolokch wir dem herrn und singen.*

Cod. pal. vindob. 2843 has a variant, 33, 4 *wir loben seinen namen.*

Cod. pal. vindob. 2940 has the variants 73, 8 *wir v'tilgen all veyertag von der erdn,* and 117, 24 *wir freyen uns in ym.* In this Ms. the divergence from the other texts is so great in these passages that we must assume another translation was compared here, probably a Middle German one.

Cgm. 746, a fourteenth century Ms. containing John and Matthew, has 8 *gen wir* and 1 *sollen:* Joh. 11, 7—16 *ge wir in Judeā aber . . . nu ge wir zu im . . . ge auch wir und stärbn wir;* 19, 24 *wir sulln in nit reissn lassn, werffn wir das losdarumb.*

Reviewing the results obtained from the Bavarian texts quoted thus far, we see that the types *gen wir* and *sollen* appear in the eleventh century. The Vienna Psalter 2682 of the twelfth century still has 2 instances of *gen,* and the Windberg Psalter of 1178 only twice has the newer types. The

sermons of the thirteenth century have comparatively numerous instances of *gen,* but they must be due to earlier origin or Alemannic influence, as none of the other texts of the same period show this type.

The types *gen wir* and *sollen* continue to be the regular ones down to the fifteenth century, the former being about twice as numerous as the latter. In the sermons published by Jeitteles and Schönbach there is a ratio quite different from the above, but these productions are not so reliable as criteria; the individual instances are in the first place often uncertain, and their origin is also doubtful.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries sporadic instances of *wir gen* occur, but these are in most of the cases to be traced to Middle German influence. Scattered instances of *gen* also appear during the same period, and these are similarly to be traced to Alemannic influence. A single instance of the type *lasst uns* occurs in a fourteenth century text which has also the type *wir gen,* thus pointing to the Middle German. Another early instance appears in Hadamar v. Laber (1300—1360). The Ms. is of the fourteenth century, published in Bibl. Stuttg. vol. 20. No. 81 reads: *hüete dîn, geselle, und lâz uns wider keren.*

We shall now discuss texts of the fifteenth century, most of which show the development of new forms. Some of the texts previously discussed belong also to the fifteenth century, and even to the last quarter of it, but they merely exhibit the earlier types handed down by literal copying.

Cgm. 459, written in 1446, is from a monastery in Munich and contains the Canticum Canticorum. There are 2 *wollen* and 3 *lasst uns:* Cant. 7, 11 *Kumme mein lieber, lasse uns geen in den dorffern, lasse uns frue auf sten zu den weingarten, lasse uns sechen ob gepluet hab der weingart;* 8, 9 *ist sy ein maur so well wir pawen auf sy, . . . so well wir die zieren mit czedrinen tafeln.* This shows that before the middle of the century the types *wollen* and *lasst uns* had already made

a considerable advance. They do not appear more frequently in older texts because these were copied without change.

Cgm. 503, a Bible written at Regensburg in 1463, changes an instance of *sollen* of the other related Mss. to *wollen:* Job. 19, 28 *wir wöllenn in durchächtenn.*

Cgm. 348, a fifteenth century Perikopen Ms., is Bavarian, but shows also traces of Middle German and Alemannic. There are 11 *gen wir,* 6 *sollen,* 1 *wollen,* 1 *lasst uns:* Matth. 21, 38 *kompt dan und laidt uns den toden;* Joh. 19, 28 *wir wellen den rock nicht zesneyden, sunder werffen wir das löss;* Rom. 13, 12 *do von süllen wir enweg werffn dy werch der vinsternüss, und sulln an uns legen die waffn des liechtes und wir sulln wandeln.* Though *wollen* and *lasst uns* appear only once, more weight is to be attached to them, as they doubtless replaced other types of the text which is considerably older.

Wack. Kirch. II contains two instances of *lasst uns* in Bavarian texts of the fifteenth century: no. 846 *lasst uns den herren suchen;* no. 1059 *nit lasst uns sein pezwungen.*

Alemannia 5, 260 contains a „Bairisches Meistersängerlied" of the fifteenth century: l. 4 *Raich her den pecher und lasz uns aber czechen; lieber herre, nu lasz uns fröleich sein.*

Germ. 22, 342, a Bavarian text of Susanna of the fifteenth century, contains 2 *wollen,* 1 *lasst uns:* l. 8 *lasz uns wol pesinnen;* l. 11 *wir wellen sagen und sprechen;* l. 65 *wol auff, wir wellen schawen.*

Cgm. 814, a Ms. of the Canticum Canticorum, was written at Tegernsee in 1478. It contains 5 *sollen* and 1 *gen wir,* which have doubtless come down from an earlier period: Cant. 7, 11 *chum zw mir mein lieber, bir sullen ausgeen in den acker süllen wonen in den dörffern früe soll wir aufsten zw den weingärten, sech wir ob . . .;* 8, 9 *so söll wir auf sy pawen; so söll bir sy umbseczn.*

At Munich there are a number of Mss. of the Benedictinerregel, that form a group: Cgm. 746, 804, 802, 801, 803. The first two have no date, but are probably older than the rest, which bear the dates 1478, 1479, 1480. All

except cgm. 804 also have an entry of the place, Tegernsee. The first two have 5 *sollen*, 1 *wollen*, 7 *lasst uns*, while the others have 9 *sollen*, 1 *wollen*, 3 *lasst uns*.

Cgm. 804, Prol. 18 *Umb das lat uns nun ettwe auffsten;* 21 *last uns hören;* 43 *lat uns varn;* 47 *lat uns mit dem weissagen fragn den hern und lat uns im sagen;* 50 *prüder lat uns hören;* cap. 1, 29 *umb das well wir die underwegen lassn;* 6, 1 *lat uns tün das der weissag spricht;* 7, 52 *sull wir . . . glaubn;* 16, 10 *sull wir . . . lob sagen;* 17, 4 *nun sull wir sehen;* 49, 4 *sull wir . . . meren.*

Cgm. 746 has practically the same text, with traces of Suabian. Cgm. 802, 801, 803 have the earlier form *sollen* in three instances where the other two have *lasst uns:* Prol. 43 *darumb sull wir gen; sunder sullen wir fragen;* cap. 6, 1 *Bir sullen tuen als der pphet spricht.*

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In the fifteenth century we find therefore a decided development of the types *wollen* and *lasst uns,* which are the only forms that occur in a Ms. dated 1446. This is the first authentic instance of *wollen* in Bavarian, but the other type had appeared nearly a century earlier. The slavishness with which scribes copied their texts accounts, probably, for the fact that no more instances are found. The number of instances in undated Mss. is quite large, and in a series of Mss. dated from 1478 to 1480, there is a considerable increase in the number of instances of *lasst uns.* Although no further dated Mss. have been accessible, it is probable that by the end of the century the type *lasst uns* had gained the ascendancy, just as in the other dialects.

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5 a. Alemannic. (Including Alsatian.)

The „Keronischen Glossen" of the eighth century have only the first type. S. u. S. Gl. I. 20, 1 *soahchemes;* 112, 15 *zispaldumes;* 206, 18 *khiuuemes,* 19 *nosiumes.*

The Reichenau Glossary I. (Ra), also contains the first two instances given above.

The Benedictinerregel of the eighth or ninth century has only this type: *pittames, erstantames, horrames* etc., thirteen instances in all. (The remaining instances, as well as any others not quoted in Mss. of the Benedictinerregel, may be found by reference to the table at the end.)

The St. Paul Glosses of the same period have also two instances of the same type, *farames, kesehemes.*

The Murbach Hymns (ed. Sievers 1874), of the beginning of the ninth century, have also thirty-three instances of the same type. They are, however, in contrast with the preceding texts in that the ending here is —*em* instead of —*mes*. There is also one instance with the pronoun prefixed, but this is due merely to literal translation of the Latin, which here has the pronoun for emphasis. Instances: 1, 1 *chuuedem;* 1, 10 *duruch wacheem;* 4, 6 *leittem;* 5, 4 *midem;* 13, 3 *wir singem, nos psallamus*. The other instances occur: 3, 3, 6; 6, 7; 8, 1, 5—10; 9, 1—4; 10, 1, 3; 11, 1; 12, 13; 14, 4; 19, 11; 21, 1; 22, 1; 23, 3, 4; 25, 5.

The next monument is Notker (ed. Piper, Freiburg 1882) (952—1022). In the Alemannic St. Gall Ms. of the Psalms, of the twelfth century, there are sixteen instances of the type *gen:* Ps. 2, 3 *prechen, chaden sie, iro gebende, unde werfen aba uns;* 33, 4 *erhohen;* 73, 8 *tilegeien;* 82, 5 *choment, samenôen unsih, fertilegoen sie,* 13 *pesizzen;* 94, 1—6 *Niûmeien, furenangeien, niumoen, petoen, fallen, weinoen;* 117, 24 *freuuen unsih, . . . sin fro*. Exod. 15, 1 *singen*. In the Boethius also there are sixteen instances of the same type: Piper's ed. vol 1, p. 16, 29; 43, 23; 46, 6; 72, 4; 99, 26; 140, 27; 170, 11, 14; 212, 19; 282, 28; 329, 1, 7; 346, 12; 348, 5, 12; 352, 13. The old ending —*mes* had by this time disappeared, but the old type still remained. The Bavarian Ms. of the Psalms, it will be remembered, already had the type *gen wir*.

The next texts are of the thirteenth century, and show the type *sollen* in the lead. Only the prose monuments will be treated here, as the instances can very often be referred

to the Latin, thus making the instances in question absolutely certain. The Epics will be discussed later.

Germ. 35, in an Alemannic Sermon of the thirteenth century, has an instance of *sollen* with the Latin: p. 178, 12 *wir suln machen ainen menschen = faciamus.*

Wackernagel's Predigten (Basel 1876), of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, contain numerous instances of the type *sollen,* but without the Latin. The type *gen* is less frequent: No. 2, l. 26 *vone diu suln wir gahon mit aller der andaht unsirs motis daz wir in ewigliche sehen;* l. 50 *Nu heben uns dar ubir;* no. 4, l. 52 *Nu suln wir got bittin daz;* 10, 46 *Also suln wir unsire niuwe hosteran began;* 12, 63 *Nu suln wir tuon alse dise heiligiu vrouwe tatin;* 13, 37 *Daz sullen wir edoch vil wola merchen;* 35, 115 *Nu sond wir unsern herren bitten daz er;* 43, 40 *herre wir sont sitzen . wir mugent uns gaehes von enander nit schaiden . . . O lieber herre spricht diu minne wir süllent ain wonung entzwüschent uns machen;* 50, 34 *Und also sont och wir bi disen selben worten gemanet sin.*

The type *sollen* appears to be the usual one during the thirteenth century, and this usage continues through the fourteenth. During this period, the material for Alemannic proper is not as plentiful as for Middle German and Bavarian, but there are a number of Alsatian texts which may be treated here, as the development is nearly parallel. In these latter texts, as we might expect, Middle German influence can be detected.

Alem. 1, 63 seqq., 227 seqq., 2, 1 seqq., 102 seqq., 199 seqq., contains sermons of the fourteenth century. There are three instances of *gen wir,* and eighty of *sollen,* of which the following have the parallel Latin text: 1, 229 *dampnemus wir sullent in fürdampnen und fürderben;* 2, 215 *Angelorum regi domino jubilemus pariter Michahelem venerantes primatem solempniter . . .* 216 *die worten die ich vor zů latin gesprochen han und sprechent so: wir süllent der engel künig durch die forht loben und eren. Wir süllent sant Michahel den hohesten Engel eren. Wir süllent den himelischen künig . . . eren.* 217 *Nu süllent wir ouch den gůten und heiligen engel sant Michahel hiute loben.*

Alem. 13, 109 seqq., 14, 145 seqq., contains Legenda Aurea from an Alsatian Ms. of the fourteenth century. There are seven instances of *sollen,* only one of which can be referred to the Latin: p. 120 *Got sprach in dem ersten büche Moysi: wir sullent schaffen einen mönschen noch unserre glichnisse.* This is evidently a translation of Gen. 1, 26 *faciamus.*

Alem. 3 contains sermons of Ekkehardt (1260—1327). The editor says, p. 235: «dieser alemannisch-elsässisch gefärbte text ist der älteste und beste aller bis jetzt bekannten». There is one instance of *lasst uns* which can be referred to the Latin: p. 39, 26 *das Petrus Kristum nie bekannt, do er sprach: herr, laz uns hie wonen!* This is a translation of Marc. 9, 4 *Petrus ait Jesu: Rabbi, bonum est, nos hic esse, et faciamus tria tabernacula.*

Cgm. 157, an Alsatian Perikopen Ms. of the fourteenth century, contains 2 *sollen,* 1 *gen wir:* Hebr. 4, 11 *Brüdere wir sullent illen in zů gonde,* 14 *wir sullent sin veriehen,* 16 *darum gont wir getürstikliche zů.*

Cgm. 36, a Benedictinerregel of 1388, was discussed under the Bavarian dialect, on account of the related Mss., but it would more properly belong here. It contains 3 *gen* and 12 *sollen.*

Walther's «twelfth group» of Bible translations consists of four Alemannic and Alsatian Mss. . The earliest date in any of these is 1464. In the Leipzig Stadtbibliothek there is another Ms., Rep. V. no. 20, parchment, folio, which contains the same translation. In the catalogue of the library this Ms. is put down as from the fourteenth century, but it is more probably from the beginning of the fifteenth. The dialect of this Ms. is Rhinefrankish, and the translation itself is probably Alsatian in origin. It contains 88 *gen,* 83 *gen wir,* 6 *wir gen,* 87 *sollen,* 1 *lasst uns:*

Cod. pal. vindob. 2769: Gen. 2, 18 *machen im einen helffer;* 11, 3 *komen har und machen uns zigeln,* 4 *koment und machen uns ein stat,* 7 *komen und gangen hin abe und geschenden da;* 19, 32 *kume und machen jnn truncken,* 34 *geben im aber win zetrinken;* 24, 57 *ruffen der tochter und fragen*

sie; 33, 12 *gangen mit einander;* 35, 3 *standen uff und gangen uff in bethel;* 37, 20 *kumen und morden in und werffen in in die alten cisternen und sprechen ein boses tier hat in;* Exod. 5, 8, 17 *Gangen und opfern;* 14, 25 *Wir son fliehen Israhelem;* Num. 13, 31 *wir sond uff gan;* Deut. 1, 22 *wir sollen manne us senden;* 13, 2 *wir sollen gan,* 13 *gangen wir und dienen;* Jos. 22, 26 *machen wir uns einen altar;* Judic. 18, 9 *Standent uff und faren wir uff;* Job. 19, 28 *durchechten wir yn und wortes wurtzeln vinden wir;* 1. Mach. 2, 37 *wir sterben alle in unser einualtikeit;* Matth. 27, 49 *lant uns besehen ob heliam kome.*

The instances of *wir gen* are doubtless due to Middle German influence, as perhaps also those of *gen wir.* It is interesting to note that the type *gen* is still slightly in the lead, closely followed by *sollen* and *gen wir.* In the preceding sermons of the thirteenth century the type *sollen* was far in the lead. This was also found to be the case in the Middle German and Bavarian sermons, which differed similarly from the other texts in those dialects. This would suggest a sort of „Schriftsprache" for the sermons, less affected by dialect than the remaining texts.

A few variants of Mss. of this group will now be given. Zurich Cant. Ms. Gal. VIII. 3, in one instance substitutes *wollen,* instead of the older *sollen* of the other Mss.: Jerem. 48, 2 *koment wir wellent si zersprengen.* This is a Swiss Ms. written in 1472.

Weimar fol. 10, undated, has a similar change in another passage: 2. Cor. 4, 2 *mer wir wöllent usstriben die verborgenen der ungezierde.*

Heidelberg p. g. 19—23, which contains many Middle German characteristics, substitutes *wir gen* for *gen wir* of the others: 1. Reg. 14, 1 *kom wir gangent zu der gelegenheit.* This is no doubt due to Middle German influence. The first two variants show that the type wollen had already made some progress, for otherwise the substitutions would not have occurred.

Mone Schauspiele, No. 15, the Ms. of which is of the second half of the fifteenth century, is in a mixed dialect,.

there being traces of Suabian, Alsatian and Rhinefrankish. There are 28 *wollen,* 17 *lasst uns,* without the Latin: 1. 101 *woluff ir gesellen wir wöllen gan;* 119 *wir wellen spilen schach;* 189 *aromata wellent koufen wir;* 385 *lass uns mit einander schertzen;* 513 *lond uns die sach gedencken;* 517 *lond uns tuen;* 521 *lond uns mit im arguwieren;* 567 *lond uns im hupschlich angegen gan;* 642 *woluff wir wöllen von hinen gan;* 711 *Lieben brüder lond uns sehen;* 763 *lond uns gon;* 1233 *wir wellent in Judeam gan* (cf. Joh. 11, 7); 1245 *Lasarus unser fründ der schlaft, wir wellend gan, im geben kraft* (cf. Joh. 11, 11); 1656 *lond uns geben;* 2103 *land uns . . . fan;* 2272 *land uns geben;* 3054 *laus uns komen;* 3352 *land uns werfen;* 3659 *woluff, maria, wir wellen gan;* 3841 *land uns gan;* 3844 *land uns in guten sorgen sin;* 3847 *land uns ylen;* 3853 *land uns pflegen;* 4035 *land uns sehen.* Further instances of *wollen* are found: ll. 870, 875, 1550, 1573, 1978, 2306, 2307, 2326, 3250, 3255, 3319, 3321, 3344, 3345, 3415, 3422, 3470, 3624, 3854, 4016, 4041.

This text shows the great advance made by the types *wollen* and *lasst uns.* Grimm, deutsche Gramm. IV. 89 says: „die proben hochd. volksmundarten bei Stalder geben nichts anders als: wir wollen essen! mer wend esse!“ The following texts show additional instances of *wollen,* without the Latin however:

Bibliothek älterer Schriftwerke der deutschen Schweiz, vol. 5, 30: *Nu wellen wir aber heben an* (1443); 60 *nu wend wir aber heben an* (1443); 81 *Woluff, in Gottes namen wellen wir dran* (1499); 83 *wir wend ordnen ein hinderhüt;* 89 *Woluff, wir wellen vertriben;* 91 *Nu wend wir aber heben an* (1499).

The following texts show further instances of *lasst uns:*

Germ. 33, 271, in fables of the fifteenth century, contains two instances of *lasst uns:* No. 12, 1. 41 *lasz uns haben ein güten müt,* 1. 43 *die lasz uns mitenander essen.*

Wack. Kirch II., shows several instances: No. 721, written about 1445, *lond uns singen spat und frü;* no. 570, of the fifteenth century, *lond uns fliszlich eren;* no. 840 *lont uns frouwen alle schone.*

A late instance of *sollen* is found in Alem. 16, con-
taining «Predigtmärlein» of Joh. Pauli of the year 1493.
The Ms., according to the editor, is from „Elsass oder
Rechtsrhein": p. 45 *Iterum oremus, wir söllint widerumb noch
ain mal betten.* There is another instance of *sollen,* and one
of *wollen,* but without the Latin.

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From the material presented it will be seen that the
Alemannic dialect has a characteristic type which in the later
period is entirely its own. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries
the Bavarian and Middle German dialects replace the type *gen*
with *gen wir.* In the Alemannic dialect the former however,
continues, being quoted as late as 1508 by Weinhold, Alem.
Gramm. §§ 349, 369. But Weinhold does not mention the
relative frequency of the various types; the type *sollen* is not
noted at all by him.

The latter type was seen to be most frequent during the
thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially in sermons. The
larger biblical texts of the fourteenth century showed the types
gen, sollen, gen wir in almost equal proportion. The latter type
was not found to any considerable extent in the earlier texts.
The type *lasst uns* appeared in a text of the fourteenth century,
and more frequently in the course of the fifteenth. The type
wollen appeared near the middle of the century, and later on
instances of *sollen* were changed by scribes to *wollen.*

In the sixteenth century the types *lasst uns* and *wollen*
displaced all the others. In the Froschauer Bible of 1551
there are 150 *lasst uns,* 65 *wollen,* 3 *sollen.* In some cases
two types appear in the same sentence: Jerem. 8, 14 *Lassend
uns zesammen rotten und in die vesten stett ziehen da wöllend
wir in stiller ruh warten.*

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5 b. Suabian.

Not many distinctly Suabian texts antedating the fifteenth
century have been consulted. But in the fifteenth century they
grow more numerous. For the earlier period therefore what

has been said of the Alemannic must to a certain degree be
considered as applying also to the Suabian.

The so-called «Historienbibeln» are published in vols.
100, 101 of the Bibl. Stuttg. There are more than twenty
Mss., in various dialects, and the one used as the basis of the
above edition has a Suabian coloring. The earliest dated Ms.
is of the year 1444, but some of the undated ones are ascribed
to the fourteenth century. The large number of these Mss.
in various dialects shows how the different types might spread
from one dialect to another. The Historienbibeln contain
1 *gen*, 6 *gen wir*, 2 *wir gen*, 23 *sollen*, 6 *wollen*, 2 *lasst uns*.
This variety of types might be expected, owing to the variety
of dialects: p. 113 *wir sollend ainen mentschen machen* =
Gen. 1, 26; p. 132 *wir söllend einen . . . turn machen* = 11, 4;
p. 146 *wir söllend in trunken machen, . . . wir söllend im . . .
wein geben* = 19, 32, 34; p. 172 *gan wir mit ainander* = 33, 12;
p. 176 *wir wollend in Dothaim găn* = 37, 17, *wir söllend in
tötten und werffen in die cistern, und laussend uns dann sehen*
= 37, 20; p. 433 *gang uff den acker fin, und wartend wie die
plumen brechend* = Cant. 7, 11; p. 501 *land uns die erbarmung . . .
baiten* = Judith 7, 23; p. 502 *laistend wir buss mit andăcht, und
bittend got daz er uns vergeb, und sond unser selen demütigen,
und sond dienen, und sond sprechen* = Jud. 8, 16; p. 545 *wir
legind*. In the instances Gen. 37, 20 and Jud. 8, 16 it will
be noted that two types are found side by side in the same
sentence.

Vol. 185 of the Bibl. Stuttg. contains «Volksbücher»
of the fifteenth century. Here also the Mss. show the same
variety of dialect as in the preceding text. There are 1 *gen*,
22 *sollen*, 5 *wollen*, 11 *lasst uns*. The increase in the number
of instances of *lasst uns* will be noted, which is due to later
origin: p. 37 *nu sechen aber, . . . wir sond nütt iecz heim keren;*
p. 60 *land uns aber nemen;* p. 61 *land uns recht wolharen;*
p. 75 *land uns getruwen han;* p. 77 *land uns anbeten;* p. 79
Karlus, wir sond uns scheiden; p. 132 *land uns laden;* p. 178
lass uns wolgemŭt syn, . . . wir wond es lassen vallen; p. 179
wir wollend es wagen; p. 180 *wir sond ziechen;* p. 182 *land*

uns scheiden; p. 209 *land uns fliechend, . . . land uns fliechen;*
p. 210 *laūnd uns ze ratt werden;* p. 224 *wir wend uns zu wer
seczen;* p. 233 *lasz in uns sechen.*

Berlin Ms. 595, 4⁰, of the year 1443, contains Perikopen
in the Suabian dialect. There are 4 *gen,* 8 *gen wir,* 1 *wir gen,*
10 *sollen.* The absence of *wollen* and *lasst uns* makes it prob-
able that the translation is of the preceding century: Rom. 13, 12
*Darum werffent von uns diu werk der vinstriu und klaidin uns
mit den wauffen;* 2. Cor. 6, 4 *in allen dingen erbietend uns als
diener;* Marc. 14, 42 *ständ uff und wir gangent;* 1. Thess. 5, 6
*schlauffend wir nit . . . sunder wir süllen wachen und süllend
munder sin;* 1. Joh. 3, 18 *nit süllend wir minnen mit vorhte;*
Gal. 6, 9 *wir sullent den gůt tůn;* Joh. 11, 7 *Gangen wir aber
in judeam,* 15 *sunder gangind wir zů im.*

Berlin Ms. germ. fol. 1037 is also a Suabian Perikopen
text. There are entries of births in the back of the book of
the years 1457, 1454, 1453, and the text is probably earlier.
There are 2 *sollen,* 1 *gen wir:* Marc. 14, 42 *wol auff und gee
wir;* Luc. 2, 15 *wir sullen gän gen bethlahem und sullent sehen
das wort.*

Alem. 18 contains an Augsburg Liederbuch of 1454,
This has 1 *wollen,* 1 *lasst uns:* p. 117, *Wolauff, wir wellen
schlaffen! . . . schenk ein und lasz uns trinken.*

Cgm. 746, a Suabian Ms., contains the same text as
cgm. 804, which was discussed under Bavarian. There are
5 *sollen,* 1 *wollen,* 7 *lasst uns.*

The Liederbuch der Clara Hätzlerin, Augsburg 1470,
(ed. Haltaus, Quedlinburg, 1840), contains songs from various
sources. There are 2 *gen wir,* 6 *sollen,* 4 *wollen,* 4 *lasst uns:*
I. no. 2, 20 *wir wöllen uns laids ergetzen;* no. 76, 92 *wir süllen
schlauffen gän,* 165 *lasz wir's got walten;* 93, 1 *laszt uns mit
fräden loben;* 95, 3 *lasst uns mit eren schallen;* 121, 3 *lass uns
lieb versůchen;* II. 33, 35 *lasst uns spacieren gän.*

Text (Z) of the Kaiserchronik, Suabian of the end of
the fifteenth century, has *wellen* in one instance where the
other Mss. have *sollen,* l. 3210.

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Germ. 1. contains a „Spil von S. Georg", of Augsburg ca. 1474. This has 7 *sollen*, 4 *lasst uns*, the former of course not being absolutely sure: 172, 25 *lat uns einander beholfen sein;* 173, 28 *lant uns tuon als from leut, und lant uns retten unser heutt, und lant uns machen einen sturm,* 31 *wir süllen zu dem künig gan;* 190, 17 *wir süllen uns . . . erbarmen.*

Stainhöwel's Aesop, Augsburg 1480 (second edition) has 2 *gen wir,* 3 *sollen,* 2 *wollen,* 4 *lasst uns:* f. 7ᵛ· *lass uns essen und wol leben;* f. 29ʳ· *wir wöllen meinen man . . . henken;* 42ᵛ· *wir söllen miteinander auffgen, . . . wolauff, gee wir;* 110ᵛ· *lasz uns daz gesund aug bewahren;* 120ᵛ· *lasz uns diesen tag begeen.*

By far the most important texts of the fifteenth century are the Bibles printed in Augsburg. It is, however, a question whether these do not represent other dialects besides the Suabian. The earliest of these Bibles is that of G. Zainer, printed about 1473. The earlier Strassburg Bibles of Mentel and Eggensteyn had modernized none of the imperatives of the older text which they printed. Pflanzmann, perhaps a little earlier than Zainer, changed six instances of *wir gen* to *sollen:* Gen. 1, 26 *wir sollen machen einen menschen;* 11, 4 *kūment wir sollen machen uns ein stat;* Ps. 2, 3 *wir söllen zerbrechen ire bannde uā wir werffen von uns ire ioch.* In this instance it will be noted that the first verb is changed to *sollen,* while the second remains unchanged. Ps. 94, 1 *kumpt her wir süllen frolocken dem herren, wir singen got;* 117, 24 . . . *wir uns freüen und erfreüet werden sollen;* Ecclesiasticus 44, 1 *wir sollen loben.*

But the most sweeping changes were made by G. Zainer, who printed about the same time as Pflanzmann, or perhaps a little later. These changes might be expected, as he made also other numerous corrections in other respects. In the Old Testament the changes are somewhat different from those in the New, and they will therefore be treated separately. In the O. T. the changes are: 41 *wir gen* to *sollen,* 14 *gen wir* to *sollen;* 37 *wir gen* to *wollen,* 8 *gen wir* to *wollen;* 6 *wir gen* to *lasst uns,* 4 *gen wir* to *lasst uns;* also 1 *gen wir* to *wir gen,* 2 *wollen* to *sollen.*

The total number of changed forms in the O. T. is therefore 57 *sollen*, 45 *wollen*, 10 *lasst uns*, 1 *wir gen;* or 51⁰/₀ *sollen*, 40⁰/₀ *wollen*, 9⁰/₀ *lasst uns.*

In the Gospels the changes are: 3 *wir gen* to *sollen;* 8 *wir gen* to *wollen*, 2 *gen wir* to *wollen;* or 23⁰/₀ *sollen*, 77⁰/₀ *wollen.*

In the remainder of the N. T. the changes are: 25 *wir gen* to *sollen*, 1 *gen wir* to *sollen*, 1 *gen* to *sollen;* 1 *gen* to *gen wir;* 1 *wir gen* to *wollen*, or 96,5⁰/₀ *sollen*, 3,5⁰/₀ *wollen.* (The change of *gen* to *gen wir* has no significance.)

These differences between the various portions are noteworthy, and are probably due to different printers or revisers. The total changes in the whole work are therefore 87 *sollen*, 56 *wollen*, 10 *lasst uns*, or 57⁰/₀ *sollen*, 36,5⁰/₀ *wollen*, 6,5⁰/₀ *lasst uns.* These figures may be taken as the approximate ratio of frequency for the various types in the year 1473.

The totals of the types which were replaced are: 121 *wir gen*, 30 *gen wir*, 2 *gen*, and there were left unchanged: 88 *wir gen*, 10 *gen wir*, 3 *gen.* Of all the instances of *wir gen*, *gen wir*, *gen*, 153, or 60⁰/₀, were changed to *sollen*, *wollen*, *lasst uns.* This indicates a rather thorough revision, and a comparison with the Latin original.

In the percentages of the types which were changed there is no great difference: 58⁰/₀ *wir gen*, 75⁰/₀ *gen wir*, 40⁰/₀ *gen.* It is evident that the correctors desired to replace all these types by the analytic ones, *sollen*, *wollen*, *lasst uns.*

In the various portions of the text there are differences with regard to the ratio of instances changed to those unchanged. Up to Exod. 1, 10 seventeen instances were changed, and only two remained. From this place to Joshua 22, 26 only one change took place, while ten instances remained unchanged, thus showing that the zeal of the corrector began to lag. There are similar variations in later portions.

A few instances will now be given; the remaining ones can be found by reference to the table at the end: Gen. 1, 26 *wir wöllen machen eynen menschen;* 2, 18 *wir wöllen im machen*

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*ein hilff; 4, 8 wir wöllen aussgen; 11, 3 kumment wir wöllen
ziegel machen, 4 · kumbt wir wöllen uns machen eyn stat, . . .
unnd süllen feyren unsern namen, 7 kumment wir süllen ab
steigen; 34, 9 lassend uns czůsammen fügen eeschafft; 23 in
disem süllen wir in veruolgen; 37, 17 wir wellen gen in dothaim,
20 kummend wir erschlahen in und werffen in, 22 wir süllen nit
töten seyn sele;* Exod. 15, 1 *wir singen dem herren;* Num. 13, 31
wir steigen auff und besitzen das lande; 1. Reg. 14, 6 *kom und
lass uns geen;* 20, 11 *kom und lass uns aussgen;* 26, 11 *lass uns
abgen;* 1. Paral. 19, 13 *lass uns manlich thůn;* Prov. 7, 18 *kumm
lass uns truncken werden . . . lass uns brauchen der begerten
umbfahung;* Osee 6, 1 *kumment und laussent uns widerkeren;*
Mich. 4, 2 *kumment und lassent uns auffsteigen;* 1. Mach. 9, 10 *lass
uns streiten;* Rom. 13, 12 *darumb süllen wir von uns werfen;*
1. Cor. 15, 32 *wir sullen essen und trinken;* 2. Cor. 6, 4 *in
allen dingen sullen wir uns erzeygen als die diener;* 1. Joh. 4, 7
wir süllen lieb haben an einander; Apoc. 19, 7 *wir sullen uns
freuen und frolocken und geben glori.*

The later editions closely follow Zainer, there being only
a single change, of *sollen* to *wollen,* in Zainer's 1477 edition.
This indicates a less thorough revision on the part of the later
editors: even Koburger, who made so many changes in other
respects, does not change a single one of the hundred instances
of *wir gen* and *gen wir* which remained in Zainer's text.

And when we consider the two Otmar editions, which
preceded Luther by only a few years, this lack of revision is
still more reprehensible, for then the type *lasst uns* was un-
doubtedly the most frequent one in the language of the people.
This is also a symptom of the causes which contributed to
the complete supplanting of these editions by Luther, their
language being too antiquated.

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The Suabian texts which have been presented are easily
summarized: Up to the third quarter of the fifteenth century
the type *sollen* is the most frequent. *Wollen* and *lasst uns*

come next in point of frequency, the latter increasing later, as in all the dialects.

Gen wir, gen, wir gen occur, the last being very rare.

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6. The Middle High German Epics.

The various dialects have now been discussed up to the sixteenth century. From this discussion the Middle High German epics have for several reasons been excluded. In the first place, it is there often impossible to prove a given instance to be an imperative, especially the type *sollen,* as this may be interpreted as a future or equivalent to *debemus.* For this reason it seemed best first to establish this and other types by numerous incontrovertible instances from biblical and other texts where the original Latin could be compared. In the next place, it appeared desirable to treat these texts in a group, in preference to separating them into dialects, as a comprehensive view of them would in the latter case be impossible.

The Nibelungen (ed. Lachmann 1878) contains 17 *sollen,* 8 *gen wir,* 7 *gen:* 102, 1 *Wir sulen den jungen hêrren enpfâhen dester baz;* 149, 2 *die lâzen ligen tôt;* 174, 3 *wir sulen in gerîten sô nâhen;* 490, 4 *den sul wir voget wesen lân;* 454, 5 *sô sul wir ane vân dienen;* 637, 3 *wir suln ouch uns bereiten;* 721, 1 *Alle in ir unmuoze lâzen wir nu sîn, und sagen;* 874, 1 *Liute unde hunde sulen wir teilen gar;* 910, 3 *dâ sul wir hine gân. der rât wart manegem degene ze grôzen sorgen getân.* Such passages, where the speech is called „*rât*", can hardly be interpreted as anything but imperatives.

1013, 2 *wir suln in unser lant;* 1024, 3 *nu sulen wir rîten hin;* 1034, 3 *nu rîten vröuden âne;* 1048, 1 *Er sprach* ·*wir sulnz versuochen. mine bruoder sint ir bî: die sulen wir biten werben;* 1069, 4 *nu enruochen war si teile ir steine;* 1153, 2 *wir suln doch niht alle meineclîchen tuon;* 1230, 1 *Die*

boten lâzen rîten; 1446, 1 *Nu lâzen daz belîben;* 1541, 4 *nu binden ûf die helme;* 1557, 2 *und lâze wir si rîten: si sint von bluote naz. gâhen wir zen vriunden: ich râte waerlîchen daz;* 1664, 1 *Die Sîfrides wunden lâzen wir nu stên;* 1897, 3 *Nu trinken wir die minne und gelten skûneges wîn;* 2058, 1 *nu gê wir in den sal;* 2069, 2 *Nu tuon bizîte daz;* 2163, 2 *gê wir an den wint;* 1718, 1 *Nu stê wir von dem sedele:* Further instances of *sollen* occur: 1420, 1; 1451, 1, 1595, 1; 1651, 2; 1738, 3; 1847, 2, 4.

The Klage contains 2 *gen wir*, 3 *sollen:* 1251 *dâ mit rûme wir daz lant;* 1253—5 *Wir suln durch unser leide der triwe niht vergezzen. swie nider sî gesezzen iwer frôude und diu mîn, doch suln wir immer die sîn die staeter triwe künnen pflegen*. *daz tuon ich gerne;* 1265 *'wir suln', sprach dô Hilde-brant 'der guoten recken gewant heizen waschen;* 1762 *die rede lâze wir nu sîn.*

Kudrun (ed. Symons 1883,) has 24 *sollen*, 2 *gen*, 6 *gen wir:* 67, 1 *Nû lâzen wir belîben, wi dâ gescheiden wart, und grîfen an diu maere;* 148, 3 *si sprach wir suln rîten;* 248, 1 *wir suln, sprach her Fruote, siben hundert man die reise mit uns vüeren;* 260, 3 *swanne ez sumeret von des winters zîten, sô sî wir gekleidet und suln aber her ze hove rîten.* Two types, it will be noted, here occur in the same sentence. 563, 1 *Nu lâzen disiu maere;* 630, 1 *Nu lâzen wir belîben, wi ez im ergê;* 827, 1 *Wate wîslîchen* **râten** *kunde duo. wir suln mit den gesten werben morden vruo;* 1269, 2 *wir bleichen baz diu kleit;* 1427, 1 *Nu lâze wir si muoten.* Further instances of *sollen* are found: 211, 4; 246, 3; 252, 1; 257, 4; 258, 2; 259, 1; 492, 1; 543, 2; 637, 1; 739, 1; 779, 3; 826, 2; 909, 1, 2; 930, 2; 931, 3; 951, 3; 1170, 4; 1364, 2; 1537, 4; 1551, 3; 1624, 4. Another instance of *gên:* 1551, 4.

Biterolf und Dietleib shows 18 *sollen*, 5 *gen*, 1 *gen wir*. For this and the six following texts the edition of O. Jänicke, Deutsches Heldenbuch, 1886, has been used: 2110 *got den lâze wir sîn phlegen;* 3393 *'wir suln den gast ze kinde hân;* 4067 *Dise rede sul wir belîben lân, swaz si tuon od hân getán, und sagen ein ander maere;* 4406 *wir suln zuo*

ir hulden komen; 5349 *nu volgen Rüedegêre;* 5826 *Wir süln
ir hie erbîten;* 6683 *daz vertragen ouch Rüedegêre;* 7309 *wan
râten ûf den strît;* 7922 'wir sullen rîten dâ wir hân sprâche
heimlîche';* 9436 *den dulten güetlîche;* 13399 *Dise rede lân
under wegen.* Other instances of *sollen* occur: 1799, 2528,
3777, 6535, 7186, 7349, 8362, 8574, 8994, 9610, 10032,
11348, 12348.

Laurin has 4 *sollen*, 3 *gen wir*: 869 *an den sule wir uns
lân;* 878 *wir suln billîche an die vart;* 1540 *sprach 'wir sulen
an die fart. dâ wir den strît hoeren gân, dâ dring wir mit
einander an und loufen mit slegen în; daz ist min* **rât.** Again,
two types, *sollen* and *gen wir*, occur in the same speech.
1758 *Nu lâz wir si mit fröuden zogen. wir suln von Laurîne
sagen.*

Walberan has 8 *sollen*, 3 *gen wir:* 46 *nu sî wir gewis
des;* 185 *daz her sul wir teilen wol;* 261 *Nu lâze wir es ligen
hie und sage wir;* 536 *die sulle wir wol bewaren;* 538 *die sulle
wir besehen zehant;* 542 *wir suln daz volc wol fristen;* 548 *wir
sullen sîn zehant bereit.* Further instances of *sollen* occur: 737,
971, 1143.

Alphart's Tod shows 8 *sollen*, 3 *gen wir*, 1 *wir gen.*
The last is due to Middle German influence, the Ms. being
Rhinefrankish. Instances: 161, 2 'alrêrste sul wir strîten'; 233, 3
wir sullen ûf der heide teilen den solt; 259, 1 'so sule wirz ver-
suochen'; 360, 2 *nu lâze wir viere . . . und senden den vünften;*
364, 4 *wir komen in schiere ze helfe, ez dunket mich guot getân;*
417, 1 *Nu lâze wir . . . mînen bruoder.* Other instances of
sollen: 52, 1; 331, 2; 346, 3; 411, 2; 465, 2.

Dietrich's Flucht contains 34 *sollen*, 30 *gen wir*, 1 *gen:*
1121 *nu râten wie wir wellen varn;* 1887 *nu lâze wir in sterben;*
1891 *Nû lâze wir diu maere stân, und heben hie wider an;* 3206
*wir suln die vîande bestân . . . Nûtrâ, helde hôchgemuote, wir
sulens ane rennen;* 6176 *wir sulen ê vil ebene spehen . . . Nû
sule wir uns phlihten mit getriulichem muote, daz* **rate** *ich;* 6366
Nû **rât** *ich . . . wir sulen zweinzic tûsent man schicken.* Other
instances of *sollen* are found: 1962, 1978, 2015, 2016, 2117,
2158, 2232, 3212, 3234, 3404, 3854, 5999, 6000, 6203, 6341,

6480, 6574, 6869, 8512, 8547, 8556, 8560, 8568, 8580, 8622,
8970, 9401, 9573, 10061. *Gen wir:* 127, 137, 187, 220, 1765,
1938, 1963, 1979, 2055, 2375, 3210, 3479, 3549, 3811, 4171,
4495, 4601, 6057, 7011, 7665, 7916, 9673.

Die Rabenschlacht shows 24 *sollen,* 5 *gen wir,* 4 *gen:*
51, 3 *nu prüeven michel vreise;* 116, 1 *Nu lâze wir diu maere;*
143, 1, 465, 1 *Nû lâze wir daz maere;* 211, 6 *Nû hüeten uns;*
516, 3 *wir sulen vehten hiute,* 6 *wir sulen ros und liute nider
schrôten;* 518, 1 *wir suln uns alsô rechen;* 524, 5 *Nû varen
wîslîche;* 571, 1 *Alle die naht sul wir rîten,* 4 *wir suln den künic
Ermrîch von êrn und von guote scheiden;* 940, 3 *nû diene wir;*
941, 5 *und sûmen uns niht mêre;* 945, 6 *jâ slahe wir benamen
den Bernaere.* Further instances of *sollen:* 35, 1; 50, 5, 6; 63,5
210, 1; 385, 3; 529, 6; 572, 3, 5, 6; 573, 6; 581, 4; 589, 5;
590, 3; 620, 3; 747, 1; 986, 4, 6.

Hartmann's Iwein (ed. Henrici 1891) contains 4
sollen, 1 *gen wir:* 1586 *wir suln sî genesen lân;* 2362 *Nû
gên wir;* 2365 *vor den suln wirz nicht stillen;* 2368 *die suln
wir an der rede hân;* 2803 *wir suln turnieren als ê;* 3685
suln wir.

Wolfram's Parzival (ed. Lachmann 1891) has 19 *sollen,*
2 *gen wir,* 1 *gen:* 55, 8 *wir sulen von hinnen gâhen;* 68, 6 *wir
sulen haben einen muot;* 137, 14 *frowe, nu sulen wir rîten;* 173,19
wir sulen ze velde gâhen; 204, 28 *wir sulenz noch paz versuochen;*
205, 7 *die porten suochen wir ze fuoz;* 275, 9 *wir suln der orse
pflegn;* 362, 17 *wir sulen hin nider in daz tal;* 407, 27 *wir
sulen ze wer uns ziehen;* 485, 2 *gê wir nâch der nar,* 13 *Nu
brechen die wîl iwîn graz;* one of the (g) texts changes this to
brechen wir. Further instances of *sollen:* 63, 10; 165, 3; 222, 10;
232, 22; 253, 8; 458, 16; 462, 21; 480, 2; 488, 22; 501, 6;
753, 2; 804, 19.

A. Zehme, in a Halle dissertation of 1890, „Über Be-
deutung und Gebrauch der Hülfsverba **soln** u. **müezen**
bei Wolfram", discusses the adhortative use of *soln* pp. 33, 34.
His sub-divisions are not practical here. Zehme does not com-
pare the other types of the imperative, as the scope of his
investigation is quite different.

Types	sollen	gen wir	gen
Nibelungen	17	9	7
Klage..........	3	2	—
Kudrun	24	6	2
Bit. u. D.	18	1	5
Laurin	4	3	—
Walberan	8	3	—
Alphart	8	3	1
Dietrich........	34	30	1
Rabenschl.	24	5	4
Iwein	4	1	—
Parzival	19	2	1
Total....	163	65	21

The above table will give a comprehensive view of the comparative frequency of the various types in the M. H. G. texts quoted. Though there may be a difference of opinion as to the interpretation of individual instances, the approximate ratio can scarcely be questioned. More than one-third of all the instances of *gen* occur in the Nibelungen, which is probably the oldest of all the texts. In the instance 1446, 1 Mss. **A, C,** have *lâzen,* while the later texts **B, D** have *laze wir;* in 1541, 4 **D** also substitutes *bindet* for *binden,* indicating that the latter type was not understood as a first pers. pl. imperative. This is in harmony with the usage of the prose texts of the 11.—13.th centuries, where *gen* was crowded out in all dialects but the Alemannic. Erdmann's statement, Syntax § 4, affirming that *gen* is the regular type in M. H. G., while *gen wir* occurs „vereinzelt", is therefore incorrect. Of the most frequent type, *sollen,* Erdmann makes no mention at all.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VARIOUS TYPES.

In the preceding chapters the facts were grouped under the various dialects. The development of the individual types will now be traced, but the treatment will be brief. The examples are to be sought under the head of the various dialects in question.

1. Type *Gen.*

This is the oldest of all the types. Gothic *gaggam,* Old Norse *göngom,* O. H. G. *gangames,* O. S. *duan.* In O. H. G. this is the usual form, and the only one in Upper German. In the Murbach Hymns alone the type appears as *singem* exclusively. In Frankish the types *gen wir, wir gen* also appear, but only rarely. In O. S. other types occur, but *gen* is the most frequent.

Towards the close of the O. H. G. period the ending *-mes* is supplanted by *-en* (Notker). This is the only type used by N., and continues in the Alemannic dialect down to the sixteenth century. It occurs with comparative frequency in the Nibelungen, rarely in the other epics. Even in the Alem. dialect this type is gradually supplanted in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries by *sollen, wollen, lasst uns.* In other dialects of that period it is to be considered as due to Alem. influence, or to literal copying of an older text.

Before proceeding to the second type, the transition type found in Williram, the Bavarian Notker, and other Mss., must be mentioned. Where several verbs occur in a series even without a conjunction, only the first has the pronoun, *gen wir,* while the rest have only the verb, *gen.* This usage obtains only in the period of transition to the type *gen wir.* Later the pronoun is supplied with every verb, except in cases, comparatively rare, in which the conjunction *und* is used.

2. Type *Gen wir.*

During the O. H. G. period this type does not occur in Upper German. It is found in Anglo-Saxon, Old Saxon, and in Frankish texts, but everywhere as a subsidiary form. In the eleventh century however it becomes prominent in Bavarian and Middle German, together with the type *sollen*. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries these two types occur almost exclusively in the dialects just mentioned. Some texts have only one of these types, but most of the texts have both, in varying proportions. In the fourteenth century new types occur in addition. In Alem. texts the type *gen wir* appears to some extent in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but not prominently. In Low German and Dutch this type is frequent up to the fifteenth century, though others occur at the same time, with varying frequency in the different texts. In the second half of the fifteenth century this type is displaced in all the Middle and Upper German dialects by *sollen, wollen, lasst uns.* Luther in his translation of the Bible does not use it a single time.

In the eighteenth century however, this type reappears.

Scherer, „Zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache, 2. Aufl., 1878", p. 309, says: „Schweizerische Schriftsteller begannen es um die Mitte des vorigen Jahrhunderts einzuführen. Th. Abbt thut in den Litt. Briefen 1762 (15. 147 Anm.) den Gegenvorschlag, z. B. zu sagen: *„Dass wir unser Augenmerk richten".*

Abbt, in the place mentioned, is quoting from another author: *„Lasst uns also nicht auf die Erde, worauf wir wandern, sondern auf unsre Gefehrten das steifste Augenmerk richten"* etc. In a foot-note he remarks: „Da ich hier auf einen Imperativus stosse, der uns im deutschen besonders bey den Uebersetzungen aus dem französischen und lateinischen ängstigt: so will ich Ihnen einen Einfall zur Prüfung vorlegen. — Wenn wir unser dass dazu brauchten, und die Periode damit anfiengen, z. e. hier: *Dass wir also unser Augenmerk richten:* Einige Schweizer

haben versucht zu sagen: *richten wir,* aber die Zwey-
deutigkeit wird zu gross."

In 1764 Iselin, a Swiss, published his „Philosophische
Muthmassungen über die Geschichte der Menschheit".
Moses Mendelssohn, in a criticism of this in the „Allgem.
deutsche Bibl." 1767 (Works IV. 2, 527) says: „Nur eine
unerlaubte Neuerung in der Sprache ist uns in diesem
Werke sehr oft aufgestossen, die wir uns nicht er-
innern in jenen (i. e. seinen ersten Schriften) gefunden zu
haben. Wir meinen den Gebrauch des Imperativi in
der 1. Person des mehreren Geschlechts, als *untersuchen
wir*: statt *lasst uns untersuchen, fahren wir fort,* statt *lasst
uns fortfahren.* Das 7. Hauptstück des 2. Buches wird
durch diese fremde Bildung, welche noch dazu Zwei-
deutigkeit verursachen kann, beinahe unverständlich.
Es ist wahr, lasset uns ist auch nicht allemal anzu-
raten. Allein man nehme lieber eine andere Wendung,
ehe man der Sprache Gewalt anthut".

Another notice is found in J. C. Adelung's „Gramma-
tisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochd. Mundart", Leip-
zig 1796, Pt. 2, col. 1914—5: „Ich weiss nicht wo das
ängstliche und gezwungene befindlich seyn soll, welches
man dieser Art des Ausdrucks (lasst uns) beilegt. Wenigstens
hat sie nicht Ursache, sich von dem oberdeutschen
„dass wir also das Glück segnen" oder *„segnen wir also das
Glück",* verdrängen zu lassen". This is evidently a refe-
rence to Abbt, as quoted above.

The testimony of Abbt, Mendelssohn and Adelung shows
that in the latter part of the eighteenth century the type *gen
wir* was not considered correct literary German. The usage of
modern writers will be further treated in a subsequent chapter.

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3. Type *Wir gen.*

This type is found almost exclusively in Middle German,
Low German and Dutch texts. In Middle German it is more
common in the regions bordering on the Low German, than

in Frankish. It occurs only sporadically in the Upper German dialects, and in many of the instances other Low German or Middle German influence is also present. In Bavarian the instances I have found are a little more numerous than in the other Upper German dialects, but only because more Mss. have been consulted, the percentage being small even here. In Middle German this type flourished particularly in the fourteenth century, when 80% of the texts quoted show this type, subsidiary however to *gen wir*. Where it occurs in the fifteenth century Mss., the texts in question almost invariably go back to the fourteenth century.

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4. Type *Wita kiasan.*

This type, frequent in Anglo-Saxon, is comparatively rare in the continental dialects, occurring only three times in the Heliand. There are no further traces of it in Low German, but in Middle Dutch it occurs in the form *weten.* Grimm, in the addenda to IV. 88 cites a number of instances, and I have found only one other, in Maerlant's Rijmbijbel.

The origin of this type is discussed by Grimm, IV. 88; Van Helten, P. B. B. XV. 472; and Schlüter, Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altsächs. Sprache, I, 112. (Dorpat 1892.)

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5. Type *Wir sollen gen.*

This type appears in both Old Saxon and Anglo-Saxon. Some doubtful instances are found also in Otfrid, but the first incontrovertible examples in High German are found in texts of the eleventh century. In the M. H. G. epics it is the prevailing form, and it occurs in the prose of all the dialects throughout that period. The collections of sermons, such as Wackernagel's, Jeitteles', Schönbach's and also those of Berthold v. Regensburg, are especially to be noted as containing this type. It retained its supremacy up to the middle of the fifteenth century, when the newer types, *wollen, lasst*

uns, came into prominence. As late as 1473, Zainer intro-
duced into his Bible 57 % *sollen,* 36,5 *wollen,* 6,5 % *lasst uns,*
in place of *wir gen, gen wir.* At the end of the century
however the type *sollen* had completely yielded to *wollen* and
lasst uns, and Luther in his translation of the Bible used 82,5 %
lasst uns, 16 % *wollen,* 1,5 % *sollen.*

Nevertheless, the type is still recognized by the gram-
marian Laurentius Albertus in 1573 (ed. C. Müller-Trau-
reuth. 1895): „Imp. Praes. *wir sollen haben* oder *lasst uns
haben.* In plurali utimur periphrasi verbi, *wir sollen,*
nos debemus: aut potentialiter loquimur: *last uns haben,*
habeamus nos, vel sinite nos habere.“ A future im-
perative is also given by him, *„wir werden sollen oder müssen
haben“*. (!) Joh. Clajus also. in his grammar of 1578 (ed.
F. Weidling 1894) says: „Imp. Praesenti: *Lasset uns sein.*
Imp. Futuro: *wir sollen sein“.*

There are even some instances of this type in Catholic
hymns of the seventeenth century, but the hymns in question
may all be traced back to the fifteenth century, the type
having been transmitted unchanged. The imperative force
was however no longer recognized.

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6. Type *Wir wollen gen.*

This is the youngest of all the types, except perhaps
moeten, which is confined to the Dutch. The earliest authentic
occurrence of *wollen* is about the middle of the fourteenth
century. A Dutch Ms. of the year 1361 contains two in-
stances out of a total of 186. A fourteenth century Oster-
spiel from the lower Rhine has two instances out of six. In
the Middle German Spiel von den 10 Jungfrauen there are
fifteen instances. This text exists in two Mss., one of 1428,
and the other without date, but assigned to the beginning of
the fourteenth century. Two instances of *lasst uns* also occur
here, and I am therefore inclined to place this text at the end
of the fourteenth century.

In the second group of Bible translations, which is Middle German of the end of the fourteenth century, there are twelve instances. In the Middle German Ms. E 86 at Melk, of the beginning of the fifteenth century, there is one instance. The Low German Ms. 588 at Berlin, dated 1396, contains two instances. In 1434 the Middle German scribe of Stuttg. Ms. 15 fol. changed an instance of *sollen* to *wollen*. In the Middle German Augsburg Ms. 148 fol, written before 1454, there is one instance. In the Middle German Berlin Ms. germ. fol. 249, dated 1455, there are six instances out of twelve. Berlin Ms. fol. 67, written before 1465, contains thirty instances out of 168. In the fifteenth century Low German Ms. Hamb. scrin. 157, all the instances (12), are rendered by *wollen*. A number of additional instances may be found in the Middle and Low German texts quoted.

All the early instances are from Middle German, Low German and Dutch texts. The earliest authentic appearance in Upper German is about the middle of the fifteenth century. Cgm. 459, Bavarian, of the year 1446, has 2 *wollen* and 3 *lasst uns*. Cgm. 348, undated, has 1 *wollen*. The scribe of cgm. 503, written at Regensburg in 1463, changed 1 *sollen* to *wollen*. Similarly, Weimar Ms. fol. 9,10, Alemannic. Ms. Z of the Kaiserchronik, Suabian, of the fifteenth century, also changes (l. 3231) *sollen* to *wollen*.

In the latter part of the fifteenth century *wollen* is particularly frequent in Suabian. Zainer in his Bible of 1473 changed 57 instances to *wollen,* out of a total of 153 changes.

Luther in his Bible translation used 16 % *wollen*. All but one of these instances occur in the O. T., which was translated last. With the increasing frequency of the type *lasst uns* we might have expected the instances of *wollen* in the portion translated first.

The Swiss Bible of Froschauer, 1551, has many examples of *wollen,* but *lasst uns* is more frequent.

Modern usage will be discussed in a separate chapter. An interesting instance may however be cited from Goethe, which is absolutely certain. In the first version of Götz,

Kürschner ed. vol. 8, p. 17, l. 43 we read: *"Bis das Essen fertig wird, lasst uns eins trinken."* In the second version, p. 134 l. 14, this appears as: *"Bis das Essen fertig wird, wollen wir eins trinken"*, the imperative force of which is thus proved beyond all doubt.

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7. Type *Lasst uns gen.*

This type first occurs in Middle Dutch of the thirteenth century, and is very frequent there in the fourteenth. In the Marienklage, which Hoffmann traces back to a High German original of the thirteenth century, it is due to proximity to the Dutch. In the fourteenth century however this type occurs in various High German dialects. The earliest dated Ms. is Bavarian, of the year 1367. Another early instance is found in Hadamar v. Laber. In the Historienbibeln, some of the Mss. of which go back to the fourteenth century, there are four instances. In the Alsatian text of Ekkehardt, of the fourteenth century, there is one instance.

The Middle German Spiel von den 10 Jungfrauen, of the fourteenth century, has two instances, and four instances are found in Germ. 12, 228, also a text of the fourteenth century.

In Low German of the fourteenth century the type is also proved abundantly, one text alone, of the year 1396, containing thirteen instances, together with 2 *wollen.*

In the fifteenth century the examples are still more numerous. Cgm. 459, Bavarian of the year 1446, contains three instances; cgm. 348, one; cgm. 802, of the year 1478, three; cgm. 746, seven; Alem. 5, 259, a Bavarian Meistersängerlied, two; Germ. 22, 342, one. A Middle German Ms. written 1465 has one instance. In the Volksbücher, existing in numerous Mss. in various dialects, there are eleven instances.

In the texts from the Middle Rhine the instances are very numerous, on account of proximity to the Dutch and Low German.

In the Augsburg Liederbuch of 1454 there is an instance; in the Liederbuch of Clara Hätzlerin of 1471 there are four; in the Spiel von S. Georg there are also four, likewise in Stainhöwel's Aesop. In Zainer's Bible of 1473, ten instances of *lasst uns* are inserted. In the Augsburg text of S. Brandan, before 1481, there is one instance, (Schroeder's edition) p. 166,1. Mone, Schauspiele, no. 15, contains seventeen instances.

Alemannic Mss. also show a number of instances. Wack. Kirch. has three instances, one antedating 1445; the twelfth group of Bible translations contains one instance; the Swiss Fables in Germ. 33, 271 show two instances.

At the close of the century, the Heidelberg Ms. p. g. 37 has nine instances of *lasst uns,* to four of *wollen.*

In all, about one hundred examples have been quoted from High German texts before 1500. Many of these exist in numerous Mss., but the duplicates have not been considered. Had the related Mss. been taken into consideration, the number would run up far into the hundreds.

In spite of these numerous examples, Grimm Gram. IV. 88—89 can cite no instance earlier than Luther: „Sichtbar eine höflichkeitsformel, welche die entscheidung aus der hand des auffordernden in die des aufgeforderten zu spielen scheint: sine, sinite ut eamus! Luther häufig: *lass uns dem vater wein geben!* Gen. 19, 34; *lass uns fortziehen,* Gen. 33, 12; *lasset uns menschen machen,* Gen. 1, 26; *lasset uns die dirne rufen!* Gen. 24, 57; *lasst uns essen und fröhlich sein!* Luc. 15, 23 (schon in Luther's ausg. von 1522; die ältern übersetzungen haben hier noch kein lasst uns!)"

„Allein Luther muss hier einem trieb mehr der nieder- als der hochd. sprache gefolgt sein; in den zahlreichen mhd. denkmälern ist, soviel ich danach gesucht habe, nirgends ein solches *lâz uns, lât uns* anzutreffen, wol aber in mnl. Die goudaer bibel von 1477 hat Luc. 15, 23 *laet ons eten!* desgleichen die antwerper von 1570, delfter von 1579. folgende belege

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reichen noch höher hinauf: *laet ons corten!* Elegast 457;
laet ons weren! (defendamus nos) Stoke 3, 251;" etc.

Grimm is manifestly wrong in a number of his state-
ments, as the instances cited on the previous pages sufficiently
show. The pre-Lutheran instances of *lasst uns* are numerous
in all the dialects, some of the authentic instances being a
century and a half earlier than Luther's Bible. Furthermore,
as no other types are mentioned by Grimm for Luther, we are
led to infer that this is the only type used by him. The fact
is however, that Luther used *wollen* in 33 cases, or 16 % of
the whole. In one place, Hosea 6,1, Luther even has *wollen*,
where Zainer and all the later editions have *lasst uns*. In-
stances of this latter type occur in all the editions subsequent
to Zainer, but Grimm declares he could not find any.

He also supposes that Luther in the use of this type
was following a tendency of the Low German, rather than of
the High German: this is also incorrect, as may be seen from
the numerous instances in all the High German dialects long
before Luther's birth. In the thirteenth and fourteenth cen-
turies it was a Low German tendency, but Luther's use of
this form was merely the natural result of a tendency which
had already become established in all the dialects. Indeed,
the instances from Bavarian and Suabian texts of the second
half of the fifteenth century are more numerous than those in
Middle German.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a number of
types became widely current, but at the close of this period,
which was in other respects also one of transition, usage
fixed upon one type which maintained its supremacy unques-
tioned down to the middle of the eighteenth century. This
survival of the type *lasst uns* was probably due to the fact that
it alone is perfectly free from ambiguity. *Gen, gen wir, wir
gen, wir sollen gen, wir wollen gen* are all liable to other in-
terpretations, but *lasst uns gen* can not be taken for any form
but an imperative.

8. Type *Wi moeten verbliden.*

This type occurs in a fifteenth century Dutch Psalter in Berlin, M s. g e r m. 331, 8″, which contains seven instances: Ps. 94, 1, 2 *laet ons vol hertelike bliscap hebbē in dē god onsen heilgheuere wi moetē voercomerē syn aenschyn inde beliene eñ in psalmē moetē wi hebbē vollhertelike bliscap,* = *jubilemus praeoccupemus, jubilemus.* The first *jubilemus* is rendered *laet ons . . . bliscap hebbē,* the second, *wi moete hebbē . . . bliscap.* Ps. 117, 24 also shows a similar phenomenon: *Dit is die dach diē die here gemaect heuet v'hoeghē wy eñ verblidē moetē wy d'in* = *exultemus, laetemur.* This parallelism proves the imperative force of the type *moeten,* though the instances are few. The type occurs also: Ps. 82, 5 *coemt wi moeten dese verstroien;* 94, 6 *coemt wi moetentē anbedē eñ wi moetē ned'vallē voer gode, wi moetē screïē . . . .*

Further authentic instances I have not discovered.

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9. Other types.

For the sake of completeness two other types will be mentioned, one of which is confined to modern Dutch, while the other is a proposed type, which never came into use.

The first is *laten wij,* which according to Verdam (cf. p. 27), has been frequent since the sixteenth century.

The other is the form *dass wir richten,* proposed by Abbt, and later mentioned by Adelung. I have never met the form in actual use. Similar constructions with the third person are frequent however. B e r t h o l d II., 210, 6 has: *Daz uns daz widervar. Amen,* and numerous additional instances, at the end of sermons, can be found there. Similarly, a violent impre-cation in S c h i l l e r (Cotta 1885 ed. II), p. 260: F i e s c o (w ü t h e n d), *„Dass deine Zunge zum Krokodil würde!“;* p. 132: F r a n z (w i l d a u f i h n l o s g e h e n d) *„Dass dich der Donner stumm mache, Lügengeist du!“* Also, Müller, G o l o u. G e n o-v e v a (Kürschner's D. Nat. Lit. vol. 81) p. 77 l. 9: A d o l f,

„Das ihr die Raben die Augen aushackten! Dass allen die Zungen verlähmten!" A verb of wishing is implied.

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10. Modern Usage.

The testimony of Abbt, Mendelssohn and Adelung, pp. 59, 60, showed that in the latter half of the eighteenth century the type *gen wir* was not considered correct literary German. This statement is substantiated by the usage of the authors which have been consulted. These critics, however, make no mention at all of the type *wollen,* although it is very frequent, there being in some authors almost as many instances of this type as of *lasst uns.*

Lessing, in Minna von Barnhelm, Emilia Galotti, and Nathan der Weise, uses *lasst uns* eleven times, *wollen* five times.

Wieland, in Musarion and Die Abderiten, has nine instances of *wollen* and two of *gen wir.* In Oberon, on the other hand, the type *lasst uns* alone occurs. This difference is due to the difference in character of these works, not to any development in usage. One of the instances of *lasst uns,* Canto 4, 51, evidently represents the first person singular: *„Lass", sprach er zu sich selbst, „uns eine That vollbringen".*

Klinger, in Die Zwillinge, Sturm u. Drang, Faust (Kürschner ed.), uses *lasst uns* twenty-three times, *wollen* twenty-four times, *gen wir* once.

Lenz, in Der Hofmeister, und Pandemonium germanicum, has 8 *lasst uns,* 10 *wollen,* 2 *gen wir.*

Müller, in Golo u. Genoveva, uses 19 *lasst uns,* 9 *wollen.*

In Schiller's dramas more than fifty instances of *lasst uns* occur, to ten of *gen wir.*

Goethe's usage is nearly the same as that of Schiller. A parallel instance of *lasst uns* and *wollen* in Götz was mentioned on pp. 63—64.

It will be remembered that Scherer ascribes the introduction of the type *gen wir* to Swiss authors. Gessner, Haller, Salis-Seewis, Lavater, however, do not use this type: in their writings *lasst uns* appears almost exclusively. But in an academic oration Lavater does use the type *gen wir,* and this usage obtains also in scientific and academic writings of the present day. This is probably on account of the fact that the type *lasst uns* has acquired a biblical or archaic coloring.

In conversation, also, the types *gen wir* and *wollen* are used in preference to *lasst uns.*

III. ORIGIN OF THE TYPES.

The first type *gangames* is the original one, occurring in all the Indo-European languages.

The second type *gangames wir* arose when it was felt that the verb alone no longer sufficed to distinguish clearly the person, number, mood and tense.

The third type *wir gangames* could have arisen similarly, the difference being that the verb was preceded by the pronoun. Instances of the second person imperative with the pronoun precediug occur as early as Otfrid, and such constructions doubtless influenced the first person plural: I. 2, 25 *thu io, druhtin, ginado follicho min,* 32 *thu druhtin rihti wort min;* IV. 24, 29 *Ir selbo iz hiar scowot.*

A similar construction with the third person occurs in Vondel's Pascha, l. 1613 (ed. Unger, Leiden): *Sy vluchten metter ijl van daer het morghenroot verrijst* . . . This is recognized as an imperative by the editor, who says in a note, *Sy vluchten: laat ze vluchten.* Further instances: l. 1617 *Sy reysen,* 1619 *sy laten,* 1621 *sy loopen,* 1623 *sy nemen . . . sy nemen,* 1625 *sy ruymen . . . sy loopen.* The connection between this form and *wir gen* will at once be apparent, especially when we consider

that the latter type flourished especially in Middle and Low German and Dutch.

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For the fourth type, *wita kiasan,* I may refer to the discussions of Grimm, Van Helten and Schlüter, mentioned above.

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The fifth type *sollen* is probably a development from analogy with the second person. Constructions like *ir sculot wizen (scitote)* occur even in O. H. G., before *wir sollen,* and may be found quoted in every grammar. In M. H. G. they occur by the side of *wir sollen.* The verb *sculan,* having first been used for the second person imperative, came to be regarded as a sign of that mood, and its use was then extended to the first person. In the case of High German, this took place just after the close of the O. H. G. period. The old ending *-mes* which had previously characterized the form *gangames,* had been lost, and the ambiguity of the ending *-en* no doubt contributed to the spread of the type *sollen.*

As long as the future was not expressed by means of the same auxiliary, this type was not subject to very great ambiguity; in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries however, when *sollen* was more frequently used to express the future also, three meanings were possible: 1. imperative; 2. *debemus;* 3. future. It therefore became necessary to use other types for the imperative, and the types *wollen* and *lasst uns* came into more frequent use.

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The sixth type *wollen* perhaps originated by analogy to *sollen,* the purpose probably being to express a slightly different shade of meaning, not quite so strong a command as in the case of *sollen.* But after the type has developed it is impossible to distinguish any difference. Some large texts use *sollen* throughout, others *wollen.* This could not be the case if there had existed the feeling of a difference in meaning.

It is also possible that the verb *wollen* in this construction may have been originally in the adhortative, *let us will to go.*

A few early instances support this view: Cgm. 5062, and Vienna Ms. 2771 (A. D. 1361): *Ende saul seyde wille wi bi nacht op tiden op die philistijn en laetse ons woesten,* = 1. Reg. 14, 36 Irruamus super Philisthaeos nocte et vastemus eos. This is one of the earliest instances of *wollen.* Wackernagel, Pred., 33, 1 *welle wir selbe daz wir niemer der in chomen;* v. d. Hagen, Gesammtabenteuer Ill. 22, *weln wir uns sîn troesten, unde bole wir den boesten.* These instances remind one of *nolite;* they might even be considered as constituting a different type, which has the same relation to *wir wollen* that *gen wir* has to *wir gen.* A modern parallel instance occurs in Lenau's Faust, l. 17: *O wolle nicht mit Gott zusammenfallen.*

The seventh type *lasst uns* is an extension from the concrete meaning of *lassen,* to let, allow, *sinere.* In M. H. G. sermons there are numerous constructions such as *lât es iuch erbarmen, lât iu bevolhen sîn,* which occur scores of times in Berthold alone: I. 84, 7; 87, 19; 149, 37; 262, 16; 401, 26; 460, 26, 35, 38, etc. Another construction in Berthold is: *la mirs miteinander wahsen,* I. 56, 38; 366, 25; II. 239, 35. Again, I. 82, 5 *Lât sehen, wer von disen frî sî!* This comes very close to *lasst uns:* there is no pronoun expressed, but we can not help supplying *uns.*

Schönbach, Pred. II. 156, 6 also has, *penitenciam agite, lat euch riwen eur suent.* We see here that the Latin imperative *agite* is expressed by the aid of *lat.*

In the above instances from Berthold, just as in English clauses with *let,* it is often difficult to decide whether the verb has its concrete meaning of *allow,* or whether it is merely the „sign" of the imperative. We can, however, see the beginning of a usage which was later applied also to the first person plural.

The eighth type *moeten* is similar to *sollen, wollen,* and reminds us of the use of *muezen* in M. H. G., to express a wish, which is too frequent to require citations.

IV. THE TYPES OF THE FIRST PERSON PLURAL IMPERATIVE AS A CRITERION FOR DATE AND ORIGINAL DIALECT.

The following example will show the value of the first person plural imperative as a criterion for the establishment of date and original dialect of an otherwise uncertain text. Where a text has been transcribed several times, through several dialects, it is often impossible to distinguish the original dialect or time of origin. The later scribes change the phonology to that of their own time and dialect, and often replace dialectic words with others more familiar to them.

But in the case of the first person plural imperative, a very thorough revision is necessary to change the types so as to correspond with the usage of a later and different dialect. When a scribe sees before him *gen, wir gen, wir sollen gen, wir wollen gen,* a very thorough knowledge of the text, even a comparison with the original is often requisite in order to determine the imperative meaning. It is, however, a well known fact that fourteenth and fifteenth century biblical scribes made no such efforts to determine the meaning of the texts they copied. Nonsensical mistakes such as *rose* for *ross, machen* for *nahen,* adv., are transmitted through numerous copies.

With regard to the first person plural imperative, it may be stated that in about 400 texts examined less than a score of variants occurred, where a scribe had changed the type of the text he was copying. This is exclusive of Zainer's Bible, where a thorough revision of an older text was undertaken: and even there 40% of the old forms remained.

We may expect therefore, that even where a text has been transmitted through a series of copies, some of the imperatives of the original should be preserved, even though all other dialectic marks had been obliterated on account of the number of copies.

It will be remembered that the type *wir gen* was shown to be essentially Middle and Low German; in Middle German it was especially frequent during the fourteenth century, existing also in the fifteenth, but there due partly to older texts. As this is important, the texts will be briefly enumerated: Heliand l. 4007; O. S. Prud. gloss; Otfrid V. 2, 7; Zs. d. A. 9, 264, Middle German Gospels of the fourteenth century; Brun v. Sconebeck, one instance; Leyser, Predigten, two instances; Matthias v. Beheim (1343), three instances; Middle German Psalms of 1356, three instances; Middle German „Perikopen" of 1367; Psalms of 1386, two instances; Schönbach, Predigten, from Upper Saxony, two instances; Trebnitz Psalms, Silesian, two instances; M. G. Psalms Vienna 2756, three instances; St. Florian III. 206, one instance; all these are of the fourteenth century.

Also, Wolfenb. Extr. 2, 4⁰, M. G. Psalms of the fourteenth or fifteenth century; M. G. Psalms of the year 1455 at Berlin; the „Evang. Harmonie" at Berlin, M. G. of the fifteenth century, two instances; Berl. Ms. germ. fol. 67, four instances; Gött Ms. theol. 214, one instance.

All these Mss. are independent of each other; there are duplicates of some, but they have not been enumerated. They are nearly all decidedly Middle German (exc. Heliand and Prud.) and not Frankish; there are no earlier Mss. extant in other dialects from which they might have derived their texts. We are justified therefore in assuming that they originated in Middle Germany.

There are also a few interesting instances in the Kaiserchronik. The Heidelberg Ms. is of the beginning of the fourteenth century, and Schroeder ascribes it to the region of Mainz. This Ms. in three places, ll. 12176, 11393, 16615 substitutes the type *wir gen* for *gen wir*. Schroeder, apparently not acquainted with this form of the imperative, has the following note to l. 12176: „4. 5 (= Heidelb. and Strassb. Mss.) *wir grifen* (aber 6 richtig), *grifen wir.*

In addition to these Middle German texts, a few Low German ones may be cited: Germ. 13, 476, Aesop; Nd.

Jahrb. 1878, 62—63, a „Gebetbuch“, seven instances; Berl. fol. 76, six instances: Münster Ms. 14; Cologne Bible of 1480; Vienna Ms. 2771; Maerlant, Rijmbijbel, two instances.

These numerous instances suffice to stamp this type as distinctly Middle and Low German. In other dialects it occurs only in isolated cases, and can usually be traced back directly to Middle German influence.

Walther's „twelfth group“ for instance, is from Alsace, with strongly marked Middle German characteristics in some of the Mss. An additional Ms. at Leipzig, unknown to Walther, and earlier than any Ms. enumerated by him, is from the Middle Rhine, containing many forms such as *hait, laissen, sal, dochter, brengen, burnen, heubt*. This translation contains several instances of *wir gen,* and there can be no doubt that these are due to the Middle German.

In Walther's seventh group of Psalm Mss. various dialects are represented. The oldest Ms. is at Rein, no. 204, of the year 1372. The translation is that of Heinrich von Mügeln, and this Ms. was owned by a citizen of Eger. The type *wir gen* does not occur in this particular Ms., but others, Berl. fol. 43, St. Florian XI. 68, Vienna 2671, contain single instances, which are due to Middle German influence, the original translation having been in that dialect.

In Wather's thirteenth Psalm translation there are several instances of *wir gen;* the dialect is Bavarian and Middle German, which latter fact accounts for these cases.

Similarly, Ms. 3079 at Vienna, dated 1477, contains one instance; the dialect is Bavarian with Middle German, and on f. 264 ᵛ the scribe names himself *„Asmus werbener vonn deliczsch . . . in Meissen“*.

The earliest Mss. of Walther's second group, such as the „Wenzelbibel“, are decidedly Middle German, and contain 2 *wir gen*. The later Mss. of this group have obliterated most of the Middle German characteristics, but retain the *wir gen,* which the Bavarian scribes did not change. The fragmentary translations of the third and sixth groups, which

occur in Mss. belonging in the main to the preceding translation, also contain instances of *wir gen.* Other Middle German characteristics are also preserved, pointing to a Middle German origin for these translations also.

Walther's „seventh-ninth group" also contains several instances. All the Mss. are in the main Bavarian, but all contain traces of Middle German, especially the older ones. The oldest, Augsb. Ms. 3, dated 1350, has such forms as *ditt ist der irbe, volbrengend, vorcht, wip, lichnam, hus, tiufel.* There is consequently no doubt but that the four instances of *wir gen* which occur here are also due to the Middle German.

Cgm. 6019, 4878, „Perikopen" of 1371, 1372, also contain three instances of *wir gen,* but they have no significance, as the text is that of the preceding translation.

Cgm. 532, of 1367, also has two instances, but there are Middle German elements, and the text is probably related to the „seventh-ninth" groups.

The above instances from Mss. which are mostly in other dialects, therefore do not at all weaken the assumption that the type *wir gen* is Low and Middle German, for in each case other Middle German characteristics were found to be present. On the contrary, they serve to confirm the statement. Only two or three further instances occur in other dialects, which have been mentioned in the discussion of those dialects. As against the large number in Middle and Low German they have no weight, nor is it to be expected that such isolated cases be everywhere accounted for. The Middle German character of the type *wir gen* has been sufficiently demonstrated.

The text of the pre-Lutheran printed Bibles will now be discussed. Aside from the prints there exist four Mss.: 1. The Codex Teplensis, containing the New Testament, at Stift Tepl in Bohemia. 2. The Codex Fribergensis, also of the N. T., in Freiberg i/S. These two are closely related to each other and to the Mentel Bible and its successors. 3. Ms.

1. 6. 7. Aug. fol. at Wolfenbüttel, containing the O. T. 4. A fragment at Nuremberg, containing Joshua, Judges, and Ruth, Solger Ms. N. 16, 2⁰.

The text of all these Mss. agrees with that of Mentel. One portion, from Micheas to 2. Machab., was taken from another translation, the „second group" of Walther. Here we might consequently expect to find a difference in the use of the first person pl. imperative, and such there actually is. In the extraneous portion there are: 21 *gen wir*, 9 *wollen*, 1 *sollen*. In the other portion there are: 205 *wir gen*, 21 *gen wir*, 4 *gen*, 3 *sollen*. The last are close together, and probably due to some reviser. The instances of *gen* stand for Latin participles. The ratios are: 88,4 % *wir gen*, 9 % *gen wir*, 1,7 % *gen*, 1 % *sollen*. The ratios of the extraneous portion are: 67,7 % *gen wir*, 29 % *wollen*, 3,3 % *sollen*.

This remarkable difference would at once prove the parts in question to be of different origin, even if no other evidence existed. In the extraneous part *gen wir* and *wollen* occur predominantly, while in the other part the former is subsidiary, (9 %), while the latter does not occur at all. The type *wir gen* also, found in 88,4 % of the one portion, is absolutely wanting in the other.

In this we have furthermore a proof of the unity of the entire translation, with the exception noted above. The type *wir gen* occurs with an even distribution throughout the whole work, the types *gen wir* and *gen* appearing here and there. If more than one translator had had a hand in the work, the several parts would undoubtedly show a difference in the use of the various types. This is proved not only by the interpolated portion discussed above, but also by other biblical Mss. in which different translations are strung together.

Again, had the author of the present translation used an older one as a basis, there would undoubtedly be a greater mixture of types, as is shown by the Zainer Bible of 1473, where numerous instances of *wir gen* and *gen wir* remain, although a systematic effort was made to replace these types. We may safely assume therefore that the author of this trans-

lation, whoever he was, did the whole of the work, without
outside help.

The Mss. at Tepl, Freiberg and Wolfenbüttel are all
without date, but they have been placed about the year 1400.
They are all in the Middle German dialect, most markedly
those at Tepl and Freiberg, although the long vowels have as
a rule been supplanted by the diphthongs.

The fragment at Nuremberg has the dates 1450, 1451,
1471, and is in the Suabian dialect. In addition to the three
books of the O. T. above mentioned, it contains several pro-
logues, by or concerning a certain Johannes Rellach, who is
called „der maister dicz bůchs".

In the Hist. Jahrb. d. Görres Ges., vol. 15, 771—795,
and vol. 18, 133—145, there are two articles by Jostes,
entitled „Die Waldenser Bibeln und Meister Joh. Rellach",
and „Meister Joh. Rellach ein Bibelübersetzer des
15. Jhs." Jostes has taken the prologue to the Nuremberg
fragment in order to prove that Joh. Rellach made the whole
translation about the year 1450; he does not treat the text of
the translation at all, but confines himself to the prologue,
interpreting maister dicz bůchs to mean translator. The
prologue exhibits Joh. Rellach as an orthodox Catholic who
had just returned from Constantinople.

Jostes has always been an ardent champion of the Catholic
origin of the translation, as against the Waldensian, and has
thus seized upon everything that would favor his view. His
argument, however, is insufficient. Granted that maister dicz
bůchs does mean translator, the mere assertion of this in a
prologue to a fragment containing only 4 % of the whole trans-
lation has no weight as against the testimony of the text of
the Mss. themselves.

The translation, as we saw, is uniform, with the ex-
ception noted above, and no older translations were consulted.
Hence Jostes can not maintain that Rellach made the trans-
lation about 1450, using older translations as a basis. Further-
more, both the texts themselves and the type of imperative
used are decidedly Middle German, and of the fourteenth cen-

tury, with not the faintest trace of Suabian, the presumable dialect of Joh. Rellach, as exhibited by the small fragment at Nuremberg.

Moreover, in the year 1450 the types *sollen, wollen* and *lasst uns* were current in Suabian, and also in Middle German, for that matter, and the very prologue at Nuremberg contains two instances of *wollen: „Do vieng an bruder Johannes Rellach wir wöllen mit der hilff gottes darumb nit verzagen . . . . sind die kriechischen bücher undergangen so wollenn wir cristen die latinischen bücher zu tütsch machen"* . . . .

Furthermore, had the translation been made in 1450, Zainer in his edition twenty-three years later would not have been compelled to modernize as completely as he did; in 153 cases out of $254 = 60^0/0$, he struck out *wir gen* and *gen wir* of Mentel and Eggensteyn, substituting 85 *sollen,* 57 *wollen,* 10 *lasst uns,* which forms practically do not occur at all in the earlier texts. And not only were the imperatives changed, but numerous antiquated words were replaced by more modern ones — all this change, according to Jostes, was necessary twenty-three years after the translation was made.

Finally, Jostes has to advance the three Mss. to the year 1450 or even later, in order to accord with his view, whereas previously they had all been placed about the year 1400.

Taking all these arguments into consideration, it may be asserted without hesitation that Joh. Rellach did not make the translation in 1450. The translation originated in the fourteenth century, and is the work of one translator, not a Suabian but a Middle German.

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Index of passages where the 1. p. pl. imperative occurs, a) in Vulgate: Gen. 1, 26; 2, 18; 4, 8; 11, 3, 4, 7; 19, 32, 34; 24, 57; 31, 44; 33, 12; 34, 9, 23; 35, 3; 37, 17, 20. Exod. 1, 10; 5, 8, 17; 14, 25; 15, 1, 21. Num. 13, 31; 14, 4. Deut. 1, 22; 13, 2, 6, 13. Jos. 22, 26. Judic. 18, 9; 19, 6, 11, 28; 20, 9. 1. Reg. 4, 3; 9, 5—10; 11, 14; 14, 1, 6, 9, 10, 12, 36; 20, 11; 26, 11. 2. Reg. 10, 12; 15, 14; 17,5.

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16; 6, 1; 10, 19—24; 12, 1, 2, 28; 13, 13, 15; 1. Joh. 3, 18,
4, 7, 19. Act. 4, 17; 15, 36. Apoc. 19, 7.

b) Benedicti Regula Monachorum rec. E. Woelff-
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16, 10; 17, 4 [40, 11, 13]; 49, 9.

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Vita.

    I was born January 17., 1874, at Osnabrück, Germany.
In 1882 I came to Baltimore, where I attended the public
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    To my instructors at the University, and the librarians
who have so willingly aided me in my work, my sincerest
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